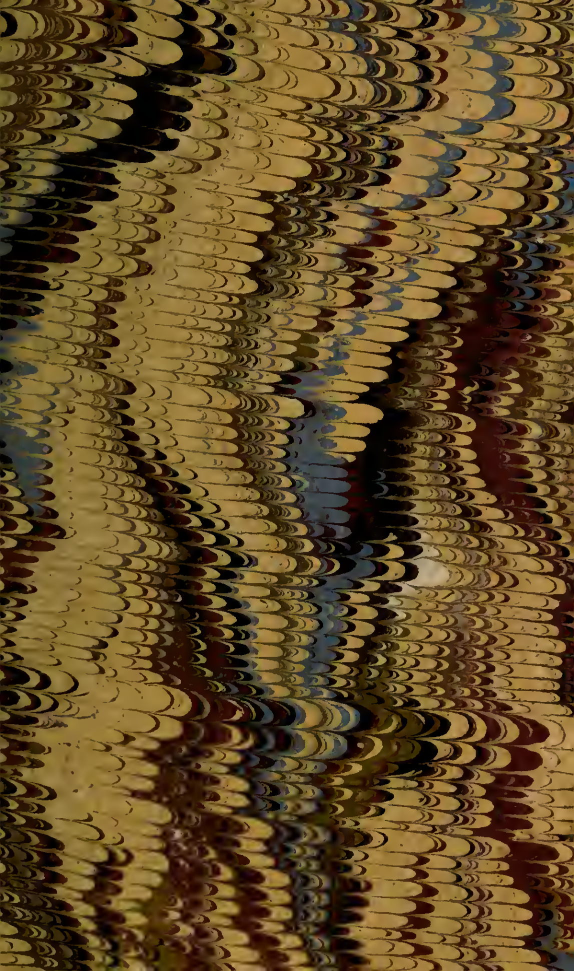



RICHARD HENRY TIDSWELL.
CERTUM
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J. C. Edwards, sc.

Warren Hastings

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THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

BY THE

REV. G. R. GLEIG, M.A., M.R.S.L., &c.

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Privileges obtained for the Company by Mr. Hamilton—Renewal of the Charter—War with France—Labourdonnais takes Madras—Dupleix's breach of faith—Attack of Fort St. David—Of Cuddalore—Naval Operations—Attack of Pondicherry—The English repulsed—Peace—Restoration of Madras.

While the general affairs of the Company were thus conducted both at home and abroad, an event befel which deserves particular notice, not more because of the effect which it produced upon the future fortunes of British India, than in justice to the memory of a high-minded and disinterested individual. In 1713, the first year of the reign of Feroksere, an embassy was sent from the presidency of Calcutta to the Mogul court, with the view of obtaining for the English merchants a greater degree of protection and more extended privileges than they had heretofore enjoyed. The object of the mission was, however, violently opposed by Jaffier Khan, then Soubahdar of Bengal, as well as by the Vizier, Abdoola, to whose exertions Feroksere had been mainly indebted for his

elevation. It was to no purpose, therefore, that the anxious envoys appealed first to one Omrah and then to another. Their presents were indeed accepted, but they were themselves treated with neglect, from which they were eventually delivered only by an accident. There chanced to accompany them a medical gentleman named Hamilton, who was so fortunate as to effect the cure of a loathsome and inconvenient disease, under which the Emperor laboured. He was commanded to specify his own reward, and he immediately pressed a compliance with the wishes of his employers. But though the grateful emperor gave prompt attention to the petition, the jealousy of his subordinates continued long to operate; nor was it till after repeated remonstrances, backed by renewed applications to the throne, that the Company's servants obtained the accomplishment of their wishes. At last, however, an order was peremptorily issued, "that the cargoes of English ships wrecked on the Mogul's coasts should be protected from plunder; that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties; that three villages contiguous to Madras, which had been granted and again resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored; that the island of Diu, near the fort of Masulipatam, should be given to the Company for an annual rent; that all persons in Bengal who might be indebted to the Company should be delivered up to the Presidency at the first demand; that a passport (dustuck) signed by the President of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the officers of the Bengal government; and that the

Company should be permitted to purchase the Zemindarship of thirty-seven towns, in the same manner as they had been authorised to purchase Calcutta, Sattanutty, and Govindpore *." Nevertheless another year elapsed before the hostility of the vizier could be overcome, which yielded at last to an influence universally recognized in the east, namely, open and shameless bribery.

We will not pause to describe at length the squabbles which arose out of that enactment, which gave to the President of Calcutta the right of protecting goods in transport from the examination of Jaffier Khan's revenue officers. Let it suffice to state that the privilege was not used with moderation, and that the Nabob, justly conceiving that it affected both himself and the native traders, offered to it a violent and troublesome opposition. As little is it necessary to specify in detail the methods which he pursued in order to raise up obstacles to the purchase of a territory, which would have enabled the Presidency to establish round itself its own weavers. Not daring to resist openly the will of his sovereign, he contented himself with exciting the inhabitants to reject the offers made to them by the English, till, in the end, he succeeded in virtually excluding our countrymen from the inland trade, though the trade by sea passed in consequence almost wholly into their hands. But it was not from the native powers alone that the mercantile adventures of the Company met with serious checks. Their own servants, specu-

* The petition delivered by the Company's envoys to Feroksere, in January, 1716.

lating largely on their own account, permitted the interests of their employers to occupy a very secondary place in their minds, a circumstance which, besides giving rise to numerous temporary disagreements, led to consequences of a serious nature to all concerned.

The year 1730 was distinguished by transactions of considerable moment in the history of the East India Company. As the period drew nigh at which their charter should expire, the spirit of opposition acquired additional strength, and many and powerful combinations were formed, for the purpose of preventing a renewal. Among other arrangements it was suggested, that the territorial revenues, as well as the command of the forts, should be left in the hands of the Company, to whom the merchants of England should pay a duty of one per cent. on all goods exported, and five per cent. on goods imported, as the price of a free trade with India. But neither this proposition, nor the abstract reasoning of the enemies of monopoly, availed. In spite of an offer from the general mercantile interests of a loan on very favourable terms, the king's government preferred the policy of still restricting the eastern trade to the parties who had hitherto enjoyed it, and the privileges of the Company were again extended to the year 1766. Nevertheless, the Company obtained not their present victory without some sacrifice to public feeling. They reduced the interest of the loan from five to four per cent., and undertook to contribute from henceforth to the service of the state an annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds. A like fortune attended their

application in 1744, for a further extension of their privileges. By offering to the government, embarrassed by an expensive war, a new loan of one million, at an interest of three per cent., they once more overcame the hostile designs of their rivals; who beheld with indignation a fresh act of the legislature passed, which prolonged the privileges of the Company to three years after Lady-day, 1780.

In the mean while events were in rapid progress, of the possible occurrence of which no reasonable person could have entertained the most remote anticipation. The struggle to which the death of the emperor Charles VI. gave rise, and in which the English and French long acted as auxiliaries, began by degrees, as far as they were concerned, to assume a novel character. Other questions arose, distinct from that which had at first arrayed these rival powers one against the other, till, in the end, their quarrel wholly changed its nature, and the contest between them became direct, and, as it were, personal. In 1744, war was formally declared, nor did any great while elapse ere its effects were felt in the most remote settlements of either nation.

In the autumn of this year, a squadron was fitted out, consisting of two ships of sixty guns, one of fifty, and one of twenty, which sailed from Portsmouth, under the command of Commodore Barnet, for the Indian seas. After making various prizes in the Straits of Sunda and Malacca, the fleet rendezvoused at Batavia, where arrangements were made for the purpose of attacking Pondicherry, and expelling the French from the coast. It was well for M. Dupleix, at that time commandant of

the station, that the delusion under which the English had so long laboured, touching the power of the native princes, was not yet dispelled. The Nabob expressed himself in strong language, threatening to retaliate should his subjects in the Carnatic be molested, and the commodore, abandoning his design, was content, so long as the state of the weather would permit, to cruize, from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, against the trade of the enemy.

The French settlements in India consisted, at this period, of the islands of France and Bourbon; of Pondicherry on the coast of Carnatic; of Mahe, not far from Tellichery, on the coast of Malabar; of Karical, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, on the Coromandel coast; and of Chandernagur, on the Hoogly, in Bengal. They composed two Presidencies, one of which, established in the Isle of France, extended its influence over that and the neighbouring island, while the other, which was situated at Pondicherry, had under it all the factories that were scattered over the continent. At the heads of these several Presidencies there chanced to be two men inferior in point of talent to none whom France has ever employed in her colonies. Labourdonnais, originally an adventurer on board of a South Sea trader, after distinguishing himself in all quarters of the world, was appointed, in 1735, to the government of the islands, the internal condition of which he improved to a remarkable degree, by encouraging the inhabitants in the arts of agriculture and manufactures. Neither his zeal nor intelligence were, however, sufficient to protect him from the malice of powerful enemies;

for he spared no delinquent, and passed over no abuses, even when perpetrated by individuals in close connexion with his employers. A violent outcry was accordingly raised, which soon reached the ears of the Directory, and Labourdonnais was forced to return, in 1740, to Europe, in order to defend himself from the charges which had been brought against him. This he did so effectually, that the minister, instead of accepting his proffered resignation, encouraged him to bring forward new plans for the extension of the French dominion in the east, and finally sent him out, though with very inadequate means, to carry these plans into execution.

Labourdonnais arrived at the Isle of France in 1741, when the Mahrattas were busily engaged in the siege of Mahe. He hastened to the scene of action, chastized the enemy, and re-established confidence in the settlement, after which he returned to his own province, and employed himself in preparing for the more important struggle which his sagacious mind had already anticipated. To his extreme mortification, however, the views of his superiors in power were of a more grovelling, as well as of a more impolitic nature than his own. Instead of availing themselves of the weakness of their rivals to strike a great blow, they thought only of securing their cargoes while the seas were yet open, and a large proportion of the fleet with which he had intended to act against the English was ordered home. The consequence was that, when intelligence of the commencement of hostilities reached him, he occupied a very different position from that which he had intended to occupy, yet

he lost not a moment in collecting such means as lay within reach, and in turning them to the best account which circumstances would allow.

By dint of incredible exertions, this indefatigable man assembled a fleet of nine sail, on board of which he conveyed upwards of three thousand troops, including seven hundred and twenty-eight negroes, and above four hundred sick. The ships were almost all leaky and unsound; they were miserably armed, and still more miserably equipped, while the crews consisted principally of raw landsmen, equally unaccustomed to navigation and to the use of arms. With this force he put to sea in quest of Mr. Barnet; but a storm overtaking him on the coast of Madagascar, he was compelled, with the loss of one of his vessels, to put in for the purpose of repairs. It was not, therefore, till the beginning of 1746 that the hostile squadrons met; nor, in the distant and almost bloodless action which ensued, could either party lay claim to a decided advantage. Nevertheless the English, who were now commanded by Mr. Peyton, (Commodore Barnet having died at Fort St. David's towards the end of the previous year,) did not consider themselves in a condition to renew the contest on the following day; they stood away before the wind, while the French, incapable of pursuing, set sail for Pondicherry.

The command of this place, and the chief administration of French affairs on the continent of India, were, as we have already stated, in the hands of Mons. Dupleix, an individual to whose abilities some injustice has been done by those who have looked at them only through the medium of the

meannesses and improbity by which they were encumbered. Though boasting a more aristocratic origin than Labourdonnais, Dupleix was undeniably indebted to his own genius for much of the good fortune which in after life attended him. His taste in early youth appears to have leaned to military pursuits, but his father insisted upon his adopting commerce as a profession, and he soon gave up to it all the energies of an active mind. He proceeded to India in 1720, as first member of the council at Pondicherry, whence he was removed to superintend the affairs of the factory at Chandernagur, where he performed his part so well that the French trade in Bengal soon excited the envy of the most enterprising among the European colonists. His diligence was rewarded by the appointment of Governor, or President, of Pondicherry, in which situation he was not slow in giving proof that he possessed talents of an order more elevated than are usually called into play by the mere exigencies of commerce. In spite of a heavy load of debt, by which the public finances were burthened, and in defiance of the repeated prohibitions of the directors, he surrounded the place with a chain of respectable works, a measure which the impending rupture between France and England induced him to regard as one of primary importance.

Dupleix was thus situated,—the fortifications being as yet incomplete,—when Labourdonnais, crippled by his late action, arrived in the roads. The latter immediately applied for sixty pieces of cannon, besides a large addition to his stores, for the purpose of enabling him to carry on the siege of

Madras, an object which he had long meditated, and for the prosecution of which he esteemed the present a peculiarly propitious moment. Fortunately for the interests of the English East India Company, magnanimity and the disinterested love of country were not among the virtues to which Mons. Dupleix could lay claim. On the contrary, he had from the first beheld with envious displeasure the rising reputation of the governor of the Isle of France, and, believing that the present opportunity of curbing his ambition was favourable, he gladly took advantage of it. The stores required were refused altogether, and out of the guns demanded, thirty pieces, most of them of small calibre and cumbrous construction, were alone afforded. With these, Labourdonnais weighed anchor, determined once more to engage the English fleet, should he prove so fortunate as to fall in with it, or, in the event of its escaping, to carry on the war vigorously along the coast.

The commander of the English squadron, conscious of his own inferiority, avoided the offered contest, and Labourdonnais, though suffering severely from sickness among his troops, proceeded to carry his ulterior designs into execution. On the 14th of September, 1746, his fleet came to anchor about four leagues to the south of Madras, where five hundred men, the élite of his raw army, were landed. The ships then steered along the coast, the land column marching in a parallel direction, until about noon on the 15th both corps arrived within cannon shot of the town. The remainder of the troops, consisting of one thousand or eleven hundred Europeans, four hundred dis-

ciplined natives, and as many negroes from Madagascar, were immediately put on shore, and the vessels taking their station so as to command all approach to the town, the siege of Madras began.

For the space of nearly an hundred years, Madras had been the principal station of the English in India. It consisted of three divisions, two of which, known by the appellation of the Black Town, were inhabited partly by Armenian merchants, partly by the native population, while the third, or White Town, was occupied by the English residents and other functionaries dependent upon them. Though wealthy and exceedingly populous, (for the city and the country attached to it contained a population, including all classes, of two hundred and fifty thousand souls,) Madras was garrisoned by something less than four hundred men; its fortifications, too, were of the most contemptible order; the White Town alone, dignified by the title of Fort St. George, being begirt by a rampart and bastions, whilst the Black Town was slenderly covered by a common wall, accessible to any force possessed of sufficient courage to attempt an escalade. An obstinate resistance from a place so circumstanced was not to be expected. After sustaining a bombardment of five days, the capital of the English in India was fain to open its gates, on condition that the European inhabitants should be permitted to continue in their houses unmolested; that private property should be respected; and that the place itself should be restored to the East India Company, on payment of a stipulated ransom.

Against the terms thus granted, though in strict agreement with instructions received from him, Dupleix entered an acrimonious protest. He accused Labourdonnais of sacrificing his country's interests to the promotion of his own views, and positively refused to render the smallest assistance to a man whom he affected to abhor upon patriotic principles. It had been agreed between the besiegers and the besieged, that the former should evacuate Madras on the 15th of October. On the 13th, a storm arose, which drove Labourdonnais' fleet to sea, and took from him the means of fulfilling his part of the contract, except by the assistance of his rival. The latter, however, steadily persisted in his design of counteracting projects which he condemned, and Labourdonnais was conpelled to solicit from his enemies an extension of the term to the 15th of January. This was all that Dupleix desired. Labourdonnais being required, by a peremptory order from his employers, to send the better half of his fleet to Europe, found himself unable to bear up against the superior interest of his rival, and returned to France, with the intention of vindicating himself from the accusations which were now profusely brought against him. He met with no justice there, for he was cast into the Bastile, from which he obtained his liberation only that he might draw up a statement of his own services and wrongs, and then die *.

* Labourdonnais was treated as he deserved by his enemies. He was driven by stress of weather into an English port on his way home, but so justly was his character valued that he was immediately set at liberty, on his own promise not to serve against this country till exchanged. It would have

In the mean while the English, who, in deference to the wishes of the Nabob, had abstained from the attack of Pondicherry, at a moment when it lay at their mercy, were loud in complaints that they had been betrayed, and urgent in their entreaties that he would act towards them with the same degree of favour which he had shown to the French. The Nabob remonstrated with Mons. Dupleix, but his sense of justice was easily overcome by a promise that Madras should, in due time, be made over to himself. When, however, day after day elapsed, and no further notice was taken of that compact, the Mussulman began to look upon himself as abused. He assembled an army of ten thousand men, and sending it forward under the orders of his son, closely invested the place. Upwards of a century had elapsed since any attempt was made by the European settlers in India to meet the numerous but undisciplined cavalry of the native powers in the field. A belief had in consequence arisen, that there was no possibility of so doing with effect; it remained for a single battalion of French grenadiers, a portion of the garrison of Madras, to dispel that illusion for ever. Though exceedingly reluctant to come to extremities, the governor found himself so situated, that he at last gave orders to fire upon the Nabob's troops. A sortie was next made by a body of four hundred infantry, supported by two field-pieces, with so much effect, that the Nabob's entire force was broken, and, retreating with precipitation and in extreme disorder, took refuge in St. Thome. Here

been well for him had the English proved, in this instance, less generous

they were again attacked on the following morning with the same courage as before, and again, after sustaining a heavy loss, put to the rout.

Encouraged by the success which attended him in these operations, the governor of Madras, acting under the orders of Dupleix, proceeded to violate still more grossly than ever the articles of capitulation. He published a proclamation, in which the English were commanded to give up, for the use of the new government, not only the contents of all public stores, but the personal property of individuals in plate and jewels, while such as refused to take an oath of allegiance to the French monarch were required to quit the town within the space of four-and-twenty hours. The issuing of such an edict could not but prove grating to men who had been led to expect a very different treatment, but the manner in which its terms were carried into execution reflects the deepest disgrace upon the authorities which sanctioned it. The very females were plundered of their garments, the fortunes of most of the residents were ruined, and about four hundred of the most respectable among them, with the president at their head, were led in a sort of triumphal procession through the streets of Pondicherry. A few only, refusing their parole, escaped from the city, and, after enduring numerous hardships by the way, arrived safely in Fort St. David's.

Against this latter place Dupleix immediately began to prepare an expedition. An army of seventeen hundred men, of which the greater part were Europeans, marched on the 8th of December, and, crossing the Pannar river, took possession of a country house, about a mile and a half from the

town. They met with very little opposition in this stage of their proceedings from a detachment of irregulars whom the English governor had directed to skirmish with them as they advanced, and the chateau being large, and surrounded by a walled garden, they became exceedingly careless in their future dispositions. This was no more than had been anticipated. A native army, under the son of the Nabob, advanced upon them when unprepared, attacked them with great spirit, and compelled them to retire, while the English garrison, sallying out and joining in the pursuit, added prodigiously to the confusion of the rout. They fled across the Pannar, with a loss, in killed and wounded, of one hundred and thirty men, and halted not till they reached Ariancopang, a long day's journey from Fort St. David's. Nor did a better fortune attend a second attempt to surprise Cuddalore. A flotilla of boats, in which were embarked five hundred men, being dispersed by a storm, the whole plan of operations became deranged; and even an incursion into the Nabob's country, though accompanied by numerous excesses, failed in withdrawing his army from the protection of the English settlements.

Things were in this state, when, on the 9th of January, four of Labourdonnais's ships, which had been driven during the late gales to Acheen, appeared upon the coast. Dupleix lost no time in turning this accident to a good account, by representing them to the Nabob as the vanguard of a powerful fleet, of which he daily expected the arrival from Europe. To this was added a violent abuse of the English, as a weak, a mercenary, and

an encroaching people, while cogent reasons were assigned why his Highness should withdraw from an alliance which could not fail to prove injurious to his interests. It would have been altogether contradictory to the order of oriental policy, had the Nabob hesitated, under such circumstances, as to the line which it behoved him to adopt. He instantly recalled his son from the vicinity of Fort St. David's, sent him as an ambassador to Pondicherry, where he was magnificently received, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the very men whom, but a few weeks previously, he had stigmatized as enemies "to all mankind."

Happy in thus depriving the English of the support on which they had heretofore relied, Dupleix first directed his own squadron to retire for safety to Goa, and then organized another expedition against Fort St. David's. On the 2d of March, a French army appeared in sight of the place, and passing the Pannar with trifling opposition, again established itself in the walled garden. But before a fascine had been constructed, or a trench marked out, a fleet appeared in the offing, which Mons. Paradis, the officer in command, instantly guessed to be English. He was not mistaken in these surmises: Mr. Peyton's squadron, reinforced by two ships, one of forty and another of sixty guns, had sailed from Bengal, under the orders of Admiral Griffin, and, failing to come up with the enemy's vessels, was now bearing down upon Fort St. David's, with the intention of throwing in supplies, both of men and stores. Eight hundred soldiers, of whom one hundred were Europeans, were landed,

upon which Mons. Paradis, aware that further attempts to reduce the place would prove fruitless, raised the siege, and fell back with precipitation.

The delivery of these supplies, and the occasional destruction of a vessel, as it was encountered on the cruising-ground between Pondicherry and Fort St. David's, comprised the total amount of service performed throughout this season by the fleet. Though superior to the enemy, as well in the number as in the force of his ships, Admiral Griffin found all his efforts to bring on an action ineffectual; and, being baffled by adverse winds, had the additional mortification to see Madras revictualled, and the squadron which conveyed the relief escape unmolested. In like manner, the troops, of which Major Lawrence had recently assumed the command, acted during many months entirely on the defensive; repelling a renewed attack upon Cuddalore, and guarding the British provinces, but abstaining from all attempts at retaliation. But there were by this time in passage from Europe, reinforcements both to the fleet and the army, which would, it was anticipated, give a new turn to public affairs, by placing the initiative entirely in the hands of the English, under circumstances more favourable than had at any previous period occurred.

On the 20th of July, 1747, the reinforcements in question, after an abortive attempt to reduce Mauritius, arrived at Fort St. David's. A squadron of four sail of the line, a twenty-gun ship, a sloop of war, a bomb-vessel and her tender, being added to the force already under his command, placed Admiral Griffin at the head of the most formidable

naval armament which had as yet appeared in the Indian seas; while the land forces were increased to the amount of nearly six thousand rank and file, of which not fewer than four thousand were Europeans. Against such a power it was fondly believed that the enemy could make no head, and hence that the period of French influence in the affairs of the East was at length determined. How far Major Lawrence participated in the opinions of those around him, we are not prepared to say. It is certain, however, that he acted throughout as if his own views pointed to the same issue; for his preparations were all on the most extensive scale, and directed to the most important object. He cast every minor consideration aside, and made ready to strike a blow at the colonial capital itself.

On the 8th of August, the British army began its march towards Pondicherry, the stores and heavy cannon being conveyed by sea. About two miles to the south-west of the city stood the small fort of Ariancopang, which the leaders of the expedition deemed it necessary, in the first place, to reduce. They endeavoured to carry the place by escalade, but were repulsed; they then opened trenches before it in due form. Never was less skill or less courage displayed by British troops. The enemy not only checked the approaches, but, sallying out, drove the guards from the trenches, killed Major Goodere, the commanding engineer, and made Lawrence himself prisoner; nor is it probable that the redoubt (for it deserved no loftier title) would have been reduced at all, but for the accidental explosion of a powder magazine.

This was but a sorry commencement to a series of operations, from which so much had been expected; nor were the events which followed one whit more creditable to the intelligence or valour of their directors. After breaking ground at the distance of fifteen hundred yards from the covered way, and working with infinite labour, it was discovered that an impassable morass cut off all further progress; and that the fire from the ramparts was so superior to that from the batteries, that the latter could not be sustained. In like manner, the bomb-vessel, instead of producing any effect by her practice, was compelled, by the superior science of the enemy's gunners, to draw off; while the ships of the line, after expending a great deal of ammunition to no purpose, gave up the contest. All hope of success being now abandoned, it was agreed to raise the siege; and on the 30th of September, the guns and stores were removed to the shipping.

There fell in this brief and discreditable campaign, of European infantry, seven hundred and fifty-seven; of artillerymen, forty-three; and of seamen, two hundred and fifty; in all, one thousand and sixty-three. "Very few of the sepoys," says Colonel Orm, "were killed, for they had only been employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and had always run away on the approach of danger." On the side of the French, again, the loss amounted to no more than two hundred European and fifty native soldiers. But it was not alone through the sacrifice of so many valuable lives that the British interests in India were injuriously affected by the result of this undertaking. The

natives of all ranks, from the Mogul down to the pettiest nabob, became impressed with a persuasion of the great military superiority of the French; and it required some suffering, as well as very considerable exertions, to arrest the bad consequences which threatened to flow out of the prevalence of that opinion.

The troops returned to Fort St. David on the 8th of October, crest-fallen and humiliated, where intelligence soon reached them that the war was at an end. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it had been arranged that all conquests, effected both in India and elsewhere, should be restored. Dupleix evaded the fulfilment of this stipulation as long as it was possible to do so; but in the month of August, 1749, he was compelled to resign Madras into the hands of a detachment sent to take possession.

CHAPTER II.

Expedition to Tanjore—Capture of Devi-Cotah—Disputed succession to the nabobship of the Carnatic—Struggle for the Soubahdarry of the Deccan—Conduct of Dupleix—His success—Death of Murzafa Jing.

THE ink was scarcely dry with which the French and English commissioners had signed the treaty of peace, when circumstances arose which led to a renewal of the contest, in a different form indeed, but on a scale of greatly increased importance.

In the previous volume some account has been given of the revolution which placed upon the throne of Tanjore the brother of Sevagee, the illustrious founder of the Mahratta empire. The principality thus usurped, measuring about seventy miles in length by sixty in breadth, lay along the sea-coast of the southern Carnatic, and was bounded on the north by the river Coleroon, on the south by the province of Madura, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, and on the west partly by Madura, partly by Trichinopoly. Though tributary first to the crown of Bijapoor, ultimately to the Nizam, or viceroy of the Deccan, it had never been absolutely conquered by any Mahomedan prince, but continued to the last in the enjoyment of its own laws and religion, to both of which the inhabitants were extremely partial. Eccogee, Sevajee's brother, obtained the sovereignty in

1675: he bequeathed it to his three sons, Sevajee, Serbogee, and Tuccogee, all of whom reigned in their turns, and left at their demise families to dispute with each other the succession. It is not necessary to enter into any detail of the intrigues and cabals which ensued. Let it suffice to state, that in 1741, Saujohee, the son of Serbogee, after filling the throne some years, was deposed by his brother, Pratop-Sing, a prince so far of inferior birth, that he was the offspring of a secondary marriage, but of popular manners and considerable ability.

The deposed monarch fled to Fort St. David's, where he entreated the assistance of the English in an attempt to recover his rights. He assured them that the feelings of the people were decidedly in his favour,—that he had only to show himself in the principality at the head of an armed force, in order to be joined by a majority of the leading chiefs; and he promised, in return for a compliance with his wishes, to make over to his allies the fort of Devi-Cotah, with the territory dependent upon it. It does not appear that our countrymen were very deeply affected by the narrative of supposed wrongs to which they listened; but the northern branch of the river on which Devi-Cotah stands was understood to offer an advantageous harbour, and the idea of obtaining the command of it determined them how to act. A force of one hundred Europeans and five hundred sepoys was sent, under the orders of Captain Cope, with instructions to make themselves masters of Devi-Cotah, and, if possible, to reinstate Saujohee upon the throne.

This expedition, miserably arranged, and very indifferently conducted, altogether failed of success. The troops, passing the river at low tide, became entangled among thickets, where they were galled by the fire of numerous ambuscades. They pressed on, however, till they arrived within a mile of the place; but of the shipping which conveyed their battering-guns, no tidings could be obtained; and after trying to no purpose the effect of a trifling bombardment, they were compelled to retreat. They suffered severely in this movement, for when they reached the stream the tide was up, and the fords impassable; and they returned to Fort St. David with the loss of many lives, and the endurance of excessive fatigue by the survivors.

Though Captain Cope had effectually ascertained that there was no party favourable to Saujohee, the English authorities could not become reconciled to the disgrace which attached to their arms by this failure. All the disposable force of the presidency, amounting to eight hundred Europeans and seventeen hundred sepoys, was entrusted to the command of Major Lawrence, who transported them by sea to the mouth of the river, and there made good his landing. Many and serious difficulties, however, were yet to be overcome. Between the British encampment and the enemies' works ran a branch of the Coleroon, of great depth and considerable width; while the opposite bank, overgrown with underwood, afforded admirable cover to the Tanjorean skirmishers. Though, therefore, the batteries were enabled to see the rampart, and a breach was in four days effected,

the means of storming would have been totally wanting, had not an ingenious individual, a ship's carpenter, named John Moor, contrived to supply them. This man constructed a flying bridge, sufficiently capacious to transport four hundred men at a time. He swam the stream in a dark night, fastened a strong rope to a tree, within a few yards of the enemy's outposts, and returned, unobserved, to direct the movements of his own machine. After this, all was easy: the artillery soon cleared the bank by its fire, and the troops, passing in divisions, reached the opposite shore, with the loss, altogether inconsiderable, of eighty lives.

Dispositions were immediately made for the assault, which was led by Lieut. Clive, a name of illustrious presage in Indian history. Though the storming party had well-nigh suffered annihilation, and Clive himself narrowly escaped from a charge of cavalry in his rear, the most perfect success attended the operation. Devi-Cotah fell ; and the chief prize for which the armament had been organized was secured; but of Saujohee and his claims, little further notice was taken. On the contrary, as there seemed to be no wish whatever on the part of the people to interfere with the existing order of things, the English readily concluded a treaty with Pratop-Sing, by which the latter was secured in possession of the crown, in return for a formal recognition of the right of our countrymen to their recent conquest, and a pension of four thousand rupees per annum settled upon his brother.

Such was the first occasion in which any Euro-

pean power presumed to interfere, even as an auxiliary, in the quarrels of the native princes. The time, however, had arrived, when an absolute change of policy was to take place; and the merchants, formerly so submissive to the caprices of every deputy of a deputy, were to give laws to the proudest and most powerful of the Indian princes.

We have had occasion more than once, in the course of this history, to make mention of the province of Carnatic, as a district inferior, in point both of magnitude and resources, to none in subjection to the Mogul. Measuring, from north to south, not less than five hundred and sixty miles, though seldom exceeding eighty or ninety in breadth, it stretches along the sea-shore from the mouth of the little river Gundigama to Cape Comorin, and comprehends almost every variety both of soil and scenery, which is to be met with on the great continent of India. Though, like the petty principality of Tanjore, it long resisted the encroachments of Mahomedan power, it was eventually subdued, first by the sultans of Bijapoor and Golconda, and afterwards by Aurungzebe, in the latter years of his reign. It was then annexed to the great Soubah of the Deccan, the government of which passed into the hands of Nizam-ul-Mulk, a chief whose career was too busy abroad to leave much leisure for a minute superintendence of his legitimate possessions at home.

It was customary, during the reign of the Mogul administration, for each nabob, or governor of a lesser province, though subject, to a certain extent, to the control of the Soubahdar, to receive his commission of office from Delhi. As the energy of

the imperial government declined, the practice was gradually omitted; and in the Deccan especially, the Nizam, or Soubahdar, assumed the privilege of nominating his own representatives. Notwithstanding this innovation, however, it so happened, that in the year 1710, Sabatulla, the Nabob of Carnatic, could boast of a written nomination from the Mogul. Emboldened partly by this circumstance, partly by the state of Nizam-ul-Mulk's affairs, Sabatulla, who was childless, adopted two of his nephews. To the elder of these, by name Doast Ally, he left, at his demise, the nabobship; whilst the younger, called Boker Ally, he constituted governor of Vellore, one of the strongest fortresses in the south of India.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was too much occupied to resent an affront to which he was far from being indifferent, and Doast Ally was permitted to exercise in peace the authority which had descended to him from his uncle. His family was numerous; for besides two sons, several daughters were born to him, one of whom he married to Mortiz Ally, the son of Boker Ally, while another was united to a more distant relative, by name Chunda Saheb. The latter was a man of more than common ambition; and his father-in-law, glad to employ him at a distance from the court, gave him the command of a force, with which he engaged in an enterprise against the sovereign of Trichinopoly. He succeeded, through the corruption of some part of the garrison, in gaining an entrance into the town, of which, in spite of the remonstrances of Doast Ally, he retained the command, while, the better to fortify himself against future emer-

gencies, he despatched his family and personal effects to Pondicherry. They were well received and hospitably treated by Mons. Dupleix, through whose sagacity the foundation was even then laid of an alliance, which at one period promised to give to the French an absolute control over the Deccan.

The capture of Trichinopoly was no sooner made known to Nizam-ul-Mulk, than his jealousy of Doast Ally and his house became more violent than ever. Ignorant or incredulous of the disunion which prevailed between the father and the son-in-law, he looked upon this as the first step towards the establishment of an independent sovereignty; and he determined at all hazards to arrest an enterprise which threatened to deprive him of the brightest jewel in his crown. It was not practicable, however, to march in person into the Carnatic, for his position towards the Mogul was then exceedingly equivocal, and Thamas Kouli Khan was in the full tide of his conquests; but he easily induced the Mahrattas to turn their arms towards a province, of which they had long coveted the possession. Doast Ally, made aware of the proposed invasion, put himself at the head of a numerous army, and seized the passes of Duncal Cherri, the only practicable route for cavalry through the mountains. But an officer, to whom he had entrusted the command of a defile, being bribed to desert his post, the enemy made their way into his rear, and, attacking him at a disadvantage, slew both him and one of his sons, and gained a complete victory. They then invested Trichinopoly, which, after sustaining a siege of

three months, opened its gates; and Chundah Saheb, with the chief of his adherents, became prisoners.

On the death of Doast Ally, his eldest son Subder, a youth of easy disposition and moderate talents, mounted the throne. He found in his cousin and brother-in-law, Mortiz Ally, an exceedingly troublesome deputy; for he not only held back the tribute which was due, but began to devise schemes for the usurpation of the nabobship itself. To this measure Mortiz was strongly incited by certain refractory chiefs, who represented that, could Subder be set aside, Nizam-ul-Mulk would at once acknowledge his title; and he adopted the following expedient for the removal of one obstacle to his wishes, leaving it to chance to effect the removal of others. He came by especial invitation, bringing a numerous retinue in his train, to celebrate a religious festival in Arcot; and taking advantage of a moment when the guards were withdrawn from the palace, he entered and stabbed his unsuspecting relative to the heart. The deed was productive at first of no little commotion, for Subder was beloved by the people, as well on account of his own virtues, as from a remembrance of those of his father; but a happy distribution of money, with large promises of further donations, soon reconciled the mercenary army to a change of masters. Nevertheless, the usurper was not left long in possession of a throne thus iniquitously obtained. The troops became clamorous for the promised donative; Mortiz either could not or would not satisfy them,—they broke out into open mutiny, and he was glad to escape with life to Vellore. Seid Mahommed Khan, the

brother of Subder, who, with the rest of the family, resided for safety at Madras, was instantly proclaimed nabob, and removed to Arcot to assume the reins of government.

These events took place in the year 1743, when Nizam-ul-Mulk, having succeeded in establishing his interests at Delhi, found himself in a condition to look more closely than he had hitherto done into the affairs of the Carnatic. He collected a numerous host, amounting to eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, with which he marched upon Carnatic, and driving the Mahrattas, now become allies of Seid Mahommed, from Trichinopoly, he turned his arms against Seid Mahommed himself. The young prince was formally deposed, and the general-in-chief of the Nizam's forces, by name Coja Abdalla Khan, was, by virtue of the Soubahdar's authority, proclaimed Nabob. But on the morning after he took leave of the Nizam, for the purpose of entering upon the duties of his office, this chief was found dead in his bed, and An'warodean, the same who had taken part in the contests between the English and French, described in a former chapter, succeeded to the vacant honour.

Though determined to resist the claim put in by Doast Ally's family of succession to the nabobship as a birth-right, the Nizam was not so impolitic as to oppose himself with unnecessary harshness to the feelings and prejudices of the people. Finding that there existed a strong attachment to Seid Mahommed, he endeavoured to compromise matters by nominating him to the government of Arcot; an appointment which

threw into the prince's hands a good deal of the influence, without conceding to him the title enjoyed by his ancestors. But this measure, which promised to bring about the happiest results, proved the source of numerous and dire calamities. Seid Mahommed, like his father, was murdered during a marriage festival, to which he had been induced, by the advice of his friends, to invite Mortiz Ally; and though the latter personage was universally believed to have been the immediate perpetrator, the new nabob was not exempt from the suspicion of having also sanctioned it by his connivance. We possess no information on which to state with confidence how far the suspicion was well-grounded; but the immediate assumption by An'warodean of the rights previously enjoyed by Seid Mahommed gave reason to apprehend that it was not entirely without foundation.

The inhabitants of the Carnatic were excited to the highest pitch of indignation by the fate of their young prince. Had Mortiz Ally been able to clear himself of the charge brought against him, so great was the abhorrence of An'warodean, that they would have instantly acknowledged him as nabob; but believing, as they did, that the blood of his relative defiled his hands, they cast their eyes elsewhere in search of a leader. Chundah Saheb appeared to the principal men among them to be possessed of strong claims upon their regard, and they immediately opened a negociation with the Mahrattas for his release. But the Mahrattas, who had kept him in confinement ever since the fall of Trichinopoly, with the view of extorting

a ransom more extravagant than he chose to offer, increased their demands in exact proportion to the earnestness with which they perceived his liberation to be desired; nor is it probable that the wishes of his adherents would have been accomplished at all, but for the friendly offices of another party. It was to Mons. Dupleix, the head of the French government in India, that Chundah Saheb was indebted for the price of his liberty, as well as for funds sufficient to raise and keep together a respectable force with which he might protect himself.

We stated some time ago that, at a very early period of his career in India, Mons. Dupleix began to devise projects such as a mind of more than ordinary vigour could have alone contemplated. Taught by the increasing exactions of the nabobs—by the deterioration in quality of the native manufactures—by the extravagant prices demanded for them—and by many other circumstances, to hold the trade with India cheap, Dupleix, before he ceased to act as the head of the factory in Hoogly, began to weigh the practicability of acquiring for his country territorial possessions, and an independent empire. The visions which had passed indistinctly before his eyes while resident in Bengal acquired something like form and order as soon as he removed to Pondicherry. He saw that the power of the Mogul was virtually at an end; he beheld the Deccan torn with factions, and the Carnatic passing from one sovereign to another, by means the most atrocious. It immediately occurred to him that the opening of which he was in want had at length

been supplied. Without putting himself too prominently forward, he contrived to draw towards his own government the eyes of all the rival parties; and he selected as his ally that man, in whose talents and enterprise he reposed the greatest confidence. That individual was Chundah Saheb, with whom he entered into a close and intimate connexion, begun while he governed Trichinopoly as an independent chief, and not interrupted by the temporary misfortunes that afterwards befel him.

To obtain the release of his ally, and to enable him, when at liberty, to collect an army of three thousand men, Dupleix advanced a sum in money of not less than seven hundred thousand rupees. At the head of this force, which was quite inadequate to his great design, Chundah embarked in numerous petty undertakings, which were conducted with so much vigour, that he soon acquired for himself high reputation as a soldier, and increased his corps to double its original amount. A happy opportunity was then presented, of which he hastened to take advantage. The death of Nizam-ul-Mulk leaving the soubahdarship of the Deccan to be fought for by his son, Nazir-jing, and his grandson, Hidayet-Mohy-O-dean, Chundah Saheb resolved to espouse the cause of one of the combatants, and he made choice of the latter prince as his patron, for very obvious reasons.

The rebellion of Nazir-jing against his father has been alluded to in another place. It was suppressed without bloodshed, and the young man, having received a pardon, continued ever after faithful to the Nizam; but the latter, more jealous of his son than of his grandson, seems to have

transferred all his affections to Hidayet-Mohy-O-dean, the child of his favourite daughter. This prince, possessed both of ambition and talents, produced, at his grandfather's decease, a deed, which, whether forged or authentic, constituted him governor of the Deccan, as well as awarded to him a large portion of treasure which the Nizam had amassed. It was not to be expected that Nazir-jing would yield obedience to such a disposition: he, too, produced his deeds both of resignation by his elder brother, and investiture by the Mogul; and being at the head of the army, prepared to submit his claims to the last and most effective of all arbiters—the sword.

Hidayet Mohy O-dean, who took the name of Murzafa-jing, could muster not more than twenty-five thousand men, with whom he was compelled to remain in the countries west of Golcondah, till an opportunity of acting with effect should occur. He was thus situated when Chundah Saheb arrived, with his six thousand horse, and made a tender of his services. The chiefs were not slow in coming to an understanding, by which they immediately admitted the validity of each other's claims,—the one being saluted as Soubahdar of the Deccan, the other as Nabob of the Carnatic; nor did any great while elapse ere they prepared to act with vigour against the common enemy. At the suggestion of Chundah Saheb, it was resolved to hazard an incursion into the Deccan, from which hopes were entertained that large resources might be drawn; while Dupleix, anxious to be the instrument of furthering the advancement both of a Soubahdar and a Nabob, readily agreed to support them. He

placed four hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys, commanded by M. Dauteuil, under the guidance of Raja Saheb, the son of Chundah, with instructions to join the army of his father, so soon as he should learn that it had approached the confines of the Carnatic.

In the meanwhile, An-warodean, who had long been awake to the designs of Chundah Saheb, prepared to defend his principality to the last extremity. He took post with an army of twenty thousand men under the fort of Amboor, about fifty miles west of Arcot, where he threw up extensive and formidable works; but his parsimony was such, that he neglected to solicit the aid of the English, notwithstanding the assurances conveyed to him that, if required, it would be freely accorded. He was attacked here by Murzafa-jing, whose force had swelled as he advanced to forty thousand men; and the entrenchments being stormed by the French contingent, were gallantly carried. An-warodean's troops now lost all confidence: they fled in confusion, leaving their general dead upon the field, and his eldest son, Maphuze Khan, a prisoner.

There was another son of An-warodean in this battle, by name Mohamed Ally, who, saving himself by flight, took shelter in the stronghold of Trichinopoly. Had Murzafa-jing followed him thither at once, as Dupleix represents himself to have advised, the war would, in all probability, have come to a speedy conclusion; but the confederates, instead of adopting a course so obviously prudent, left the enemy to gather strength, while they amused themselves at Arcot. Here Murzafa-

jing drew up a sunnud, by which Chundah Saheb was declared Nabob of the Carnatic, as well as of the whole of the states lying along the Coromandel coast; but the act was as impolitic as the motive from which it sprang was unworthy of one contending for so great a stake. All the chiefs and princes whose rights seemed to be invaded, took the alarm, and, with the king of Tanjore at their head, determined to resist. It was this resolution, indeed, which induced the last-mentioned personage to enter with so little scruple into negociations with the English, and to surrender to them the valuable fortress of Devi-Cotah, as the price of a suspension of hostilities, and the abandonment of his rival's cause.

While the French were thus entering boldly into the political convulsions of India, the English, though they could not but regard the movements of their rivals with distrust, were too much under the influence of an ill-timed caution to make any effort either to counteract or interrupt them. Without instructions from home, and still impressed with an undue deference for native authority, they not only abstained from taking a decided part in the contest, but permitted Admiral Boscawen to return to Europe with the army; a measure for which it is impossible on any prudential, or even economical grounds, to account. At the same time, as if to convince all parties that they were not without the wish to play for a nobler stake, they furnished to Mohamed Ally, on his urgent entreaty, a force of one hundred and twenty soldiers; thus committing themselves in the eyes both of Murzafa-jing and Dupleix, while they

effected nothing towards the re-establishment of the former order of things. Nor was their conduct towards the king of Tanjore, whom they affected to regard as an ally, marked by a greater degree either of generosity or courage. Twenty men, withdrawn from the company at Trichinopoly, were all that answered his call for help against a threatened attack; and even these were smuggled, rather than marched, within the walls of Tanjore by night. Nevertheless, they were not indifferent to the condition of Madras, which they found greatly improved since its occupation by the French. They added still further to its strength by banishing from the village of St. Thome all persons, especially Roman Catholic priests, suspected of a doubtful allegiance, and by constructing a redoubt at the mouth of the river, into which they threw a garrison of thirty Europeans.

Meanwhile Murzafa-jing and Chundah Saheb, after enacting their several parts at Arcot, marched to Pondicherry, where they were magnificently entertained, and received a plan of future operations drawn up for them by Dupleix himself. They were urged to make themselves immediate masters of Trichinopoly, and they set out with the avowed intention of doing so, but the low state of their finances induced Chundah Saheb to propose a previous attempt upon Tanjore, of which the wealth was represented to be great. They met with little opposition from the garrison, which, overawed by the natives, and harassed by a bombardment, were ready, at any moment, to submit; but that which he found himself incapable of effecting by force, the Rajah succeeded in obtaining through guile. He opened a

negotiation with the besiegers, which he managed to protract from day to day and from week to week; nor was it till the French, not less disgusted than alarmed by the delay, had attacked and carried his outer line during a truce, that he came at last to terms. These were abundantly favourable to the allies. He agreed to acknowledge Chundah Saheb as Nabob, paying by instalments seven millions of rupees, while to the French he promised two hundred thousand, besides ceding many villages in sovereignty. But ere this treaty could be carried into execution, the event befell against which it had been Dupleix's most earnest wish to provide, and the prospects of the allies, hitherto so bright and flourishing, became overcast.

Nazir-jing, more suspicious of his brother's designs than apprehensive of the issue of his nephew's movements, was on his march to Delhi, when intelligence of the victory of Amboor, and the subsequent proceedings of the allies, reached him. He became alarmed for the safety of the Carnatic, and suddenly changing his route, advanced towards Tanjore, at the head of a numerous army. He moved slowly, for his columns were encumbered with baggage, and being a man of loose habits, he transported from place to place every imaginable instrument of impure pleasure; but the very fame of his approach struck terror into the hearts of Murzafa-jing and Chundah Saheb, who broke up their camp and fled. Nazir-jing followed, being joined both by Mahomed Ally and an English battalion, for the government of Fort St. David's began at last to feel the necessity of a more active interference in the contest, and, harassing the fugitives with his

Mahratta horse, of which thirty thousand accompanied him, at last took up a position opposite their camp, which was pitched beside the bound-hedge of Pondicherry.

Though far from blind to the perils which menaced him, Dupleix by no means lost either his courage or presence of mind. He at once opened a correspondence with Nazir-jing, in which he endeavoured to persuade that prince of the good feeling of the French towards him, and laboured by the most strenuous exertions to support the spirits of Murzafa and Chundah Saheb. He advanced to the latter fifty thousand pounds belonging to the French Company, for the payment of the troops, gave out that a much larger sum would be furnished by-and-by, and strove to impress all about him with a conviction that matters were by no means desperate. Nevertheless he could not provide against an evil, of the possible occurrence of which he had entertained no anticipation. His own officers mutinied, at a time when an action seemed inevitable, and the spirit of disaffection being communicated to the European troops, they also deserted their colours in large numbers. The remainder were of necessity marched back within the walls of the town.

It was now apparent both to Murzafa-jing and Chundah Saheb, that their cause was hopeless; and as the former could not be persuaded to incur the disgrace of flight, they tenderly embraced, and parted. Chundah Saheb escaped with a few horse into Pondicherry, while his friend sought to obtain the pardon of Nazir-jing, an attempt in which he succeeded only so far as, under existing circum-

stances, might have been expected. Having received solemn assurances that he should not be deprived of his personal liberty—that his faults were forgotten—and that his uncle longed to embrace him, he ventured to approach the Soubahdar's tent, where he was immediately secured, loaded with irons, and placed under a guard. In this condition he was kept, during the remainder of the summer, expecting from hour to hour a severer fate.

Meanwhile there arose among certain Patan chiefs, who commanded corps in Nazir-jing's army, a feeling of violent dissatisfaction towards the Soubahdar, of which Dupleix was not slow of obtaining information through his spies, and of which he made haste to take advantage. He sent ambassadors to the enemy's camp, ostensibly with a view to intercede in Murzafa-jing's favour, but in reality to blow up into a flame the animosities which slumbered there; and though he failed in obtaining any satisfactory answer to his application, he proved completely successful in other respects. A system of confidential intercourse was organized between him and the malcontents, and a plot arranged, which, in due time, produced a complete revolution in the general aspect of affairs.

Things were in this state, Dupleix strangely commingling hostilities with negotiation, when Major Lawrence, who commanded the English force attached to Nazir's army, applied to that chief for the confirmation of a grant of territory which had been assigned by Mahomed Ally to the Madras government. Compliance with this request was for a while evaded, and in the end positively refused. Major Lawrence was exceedingly

indignant; he remonstrated warmly against the injustice of such treatment—but the Soubahdar was not to be moved, upon which the Major withdrew with his battalion, and returned to Fort St. David's. That movement, which occurred at a moment particularly inconvenient to Nazir-jing, gave him so much offence, that he broke up his encampment, and marched to Arcot.

While these things were passing, the French not only made themselves masters of Masulipatam, but, sending a body of five hundred men secretly to the mouth of the Pannar, surprised and took possession of the pagoda of Trevadi, distant about fifteen miles to the westward from Fort St. David's. The loss of this place gave excessive umbrage to Mahomed Ally, who became justly alarmed for others of his strongholds; he therefore solicited and obtained permission from Nazir-jing to attempt its recovery. He was joined by a considerable body of English, who, with equal reason, apprehended further encroachments; but the operations were conducted with so little both of skill and of courage, that they led to a very disastrous issue. A quarrel sprang up between Mahomed and his allies, who sullenly quitted his camp, and being immediately attacked by the French, now largely reinforced, he was totally routed. Nor were the victors remiss in following up the advantage. They pursued a body of fugitives as far as Gingee, one of the strongest hill-forts in the Carnatic, which they stormed and carried by a night attack, though the ascent was so steep, and the footing so insecure, that it seemed barely possible for unarmed men to surmount it in open daylight.

All this while, Nazir-jing, in whose eyes the fatigues of warfare possessed no attraction, was spending his time at Arcot, amid the dissipations of the harem and the chace. The loss of Gingee roused him from his supineness, and he advanced with the design of chastising its captors; but his troops began to desert in great numbers, his money and stores fell short, and he found himself beset by many and serious difficulties. In this emergency he turned a willing ear to the proposals of Dupleix, who negotiated at the same time with him and with the Patans, and a treaty was concluded abundantly humiliating to the dignity of the Soubahdar. On the day, however, which succeeded its ratification, the commandant of Gingee received intelligence that the plot of the conspirators was matured. He marched all night at the head of his garrison, attacked Nazir's camp at four o'clock in the morning, and penetrated, though not without hard fighting, beyond the line of artillery, while Nazir himself, hastening to oppose the design, was shot through the heart. Murzafa-jing was immediately freed from his fetters, and, by the mutual consent of the French and the Patan chiefs, acknowledged as Soubahdar.

The expectations of the French were now excited to the highest pitch, and the situation of affairs was undoubtedly such as to furnish ample room for them. The army so recently opposed to them marched as friends to Pondicherry, where the new Soubahdar was received with every mark of attention. But the demands of the Patan nabobs, who had contributed to the late revolution, proved so extravagant, and were so keenly urged, as to

excite no common uneasiness. With some difficulty they were prevailed upon to offer a submission, of the validity of which no one could entertain a hope, and for the present, at least, matters assumed a quiet aspect. Dupleix was promoted to the rank of a commander of seven thousand horse. He was appointed governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast, from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, while Chundah Saheb was nominated to act as his deputy, with the title of Nabob of Arcot. Mohamed Ally, who saw no prospect of successful resistance, made a merit of his submission, on condition that he should receive a province in some other quarter of the Deccan, and the fidelity of his troops was sought to be secured by large pecuniary donations. These matters being arranged, and a handsome present in money paid to the governor of Pondicherry, the new Soubahdar (or, to use the language of the country, the new Nizam) set out, accompanied by three thousand French and Sepoy infantry, under the command of Mons. Bussy, for Arungabad.

The Patan chiefs, though they affected an acquiescence with Dupleix's wishes, were far from being reconciled to the treatment they had received. They agreed among themselves to seize the first opportunity of taking revenge; and the army had not proceeded beyond the territory of Cudapah, ere the wished-for opening presented itself. A quarrel arose, either accidentally or by design, between certain troopers of the Nizam's rear-guard and some villagers. The cavalry set fire to the peasants' dwellings, upon which the Nabob (one of the discontented chiefs) mustered his followers, and

attacked them, when a skirmish ensued, attended by results unfavourable to the honour of the Nizam's arms. The Nizam halted, threatened to destroy the whole province, and had put his troops in motion to fulfil the threat, when, at the entreaty of M. Bussy, he consented to demand an explanation. Mutual recriminations ensued, and it was shortly discovered that a large body of malcontents had seized a pass, where they were prepared to dispute the further progress of the Nizam's march. A desultory and harassing conflict ensued, in which the Nizam, as often as he left his European auxiliaries behind, suffered a repulse, but throughout which the well-directed fire of this handful of French Sepoys, when brought to bear, invariably turned the scale. At last the Nizam found himself personally opposed to one of the principal of the rebellious nobles. He gave a signal to his followers to hold back, engaged his enemy hand to hand, and was slain by a stab from his adversary's spear, which penetrated the brain; yet the Patan was hewn to pieces on the spot, and victory still declared for the French party. Nevertheless the blow was a severe one, and might have proved fatal, but for the decision and presence of mind of Mons. Bussy. He caused three nephews of Nazir-jing, who accompanied the army in chains, to be brought forth, persuaded the chiefs to acknowledge the elder, by name Sallabat-jing, as Nizam; and having obtained from him the same terms as were granted by his predecessor, conducted him in triumph to Golcondah.

CHAPTER III.

The English roused from their supineness—Take the field—Defeated before Golcondah—Retreat to Trichinopoly—Mr. Clive—His services—Takes and defends Arcot—Battle of Arni—Congeveram stormed—Siege of Trichinopoly—Alliance with the Rajah of Mysore—Operations against Chundah Saheb—Return of Lawrence—Campaign before Trichinopoly—The French surrender—Intestine differences among the Allies—Bussy's influence with the Nizam—Dupleix superseded—Peace with France—Soon interrupted.

WHILE the French were successfully labouring to establish a permanent influence in the Deccan, the English, in spite of a well-grounded alarm as to the consequences, not only abstained from all efforts to counteract the project, but permitted Major Lawrence, the officer on whose abilities they mainly depended, to depart for Europe. The assassination of Nazir-jing, however, with the events attendant on it, seemed to force upon them a conviction of the perils by which they were surrounded. When they beheld a number of small white flags hoisted in the fields adjoining to the bound-hedge of Madras, they became satisfied that it was high time to check the encroachments of French power, and they accordingly opened a negotiation with Mahomed Ally, for the purpose of preventing the surrender of Trichinopoly to Chundah Saheb. They found

Mohamed by no means averse to withdraw his proffered submission to the new order of things; and they dispatched a force of two hundred and eighty Europeans with three hundred Sepoys, under the command of Captain Cope, to aid him in the defence of his strong fortress.

The state of Mohamed Ally's affairs appeared so desperate, that very few of the chieftains belonging to the Carnatic adhered to him, and even of these there were several whose fidelity could not be relied upon, in the event of any new misfortune occurring to his arms. It unfortunately happened that the city of Madura, an important dependency upon Trichinopoly, declared for Chundah Saheb; and a detachment sent against it, though composed partly of Europeans, and headed by Captain Cope in person, suffered a repulse. An immediate desertion of almost all the native soldiers followed, and Mohamed was reduced to the very depth of despair. He wrote to Fort St. David's, urgently imploring a further aid of troops, and there came to his assistance five hundred Europeans, one hundred Caffres, one thousand Sepoys, with eight field-pieces, under the command of Captain Gingens, the officer next in point of seniority to Lawrence. Gingens laid siege to Verdachelum, a strong pagoda, garrisoned by three hundred men, which commanded the road of communication between Fort St. David and Trichinopoly; he reduced it, and being joined soon afterwards by a detachment of Cope's corps, took up a position so as to threaten Golcondah, at the same time that he held Chundah Saheb's army in check.

The castle of Golcondah is situated about ninety

miles from the coast, on the great road between Arcot and Trichinopoly. It is planted upon a rock, which rises to the height of two hundred feet from the plain, and is begirt with a triple wall, one at the base, a second near the brow, and a third on the summit of the precipice. Beneath it lay a stone redoubt, and a town very imperfectly fortified, and it is washed on two sides by the waters of the Valaru. When Captain Gingens took post in a grove about a mile and a half from this place, it was commanded by a chief who gave evasive answers to the requisitions both of Chundah Saheb and of his rival, Mohamed Ally. The English leader, wearied out with repeated delays, resolved at last to make good his entrance by force. He hazarded the attempt, and was repulsed, upon which the governor, tendering his submission to Chundah Saheb, the latter advanced to his relief. Some strange infatuation took possession of the English officers on this occasion. They wasted so much time in deliberating how the dispositions of the enemy were to be met, that the men lost their confidence, and fled almost at the first fire. A like result ensued at the village of Utatoor, a place about twenty-five miles to the rear, where they were again attacked on the third day after this defeat. Though the artillery was well served, and a few companies did their duty, the remainder shamefully gave way, and rallied again only under cover of the guns of Trichinopoly. This place, one of the most important in southern India, is distant about a mile and a half from the Cavery, a river which rises among the mountains near Mangalore, on the coast of Malabar, passes through

the kingdom of Mysore, and runs a course of four hundred miles, ere it reaches Trichinopoly. About five miles from the city, in a north-westerly direction, the Cavery separates into two principal branches. One of these, called the Coleroon, flows in a single stream to Devi-Cotah, where it joins the sea; the other, retaining its original name, breaks up into numerous lesser rivers, which pervade the province of Tanjore, at intervals of something more than a mile apart, without ever reuniting. At a place called Coiladdy, however, about fourteen miles below the city, two of the largest of these rivers, after following different channels, a space of nearly twenty miles, approximate so closely, that the country people have been obliged, in order to hinder a reunion, to throw up between them a mound of earth. The long and narrow stripe of soil thus inclosed is called the Island of Seringham. The whole peninsula derives a sacred character from the presence of two pagodas, more venerated than perhaps any others in the Deccan, and is much visited by pilgrims, who come from all quarters to worship before the identical image of the god Vishnoo, to which Brama himself paid adoration.

When the army retreated from the last affair at Utatoor, an effort was made to rally in this place, and the troops were admitted by the Brahmins, though not without some scruple, within the outer walls of the pagodas. The buildings, however, appearing dilapidated, and their enceinte too extensive, they were soon abandoned, and the last branch of the river being tumultuously passed, a new encampment was formed close to

the ditch of Trichinopoly. No great while elapsed ere advantage was taken of this movement by the enemy. After reducing a small mud-fort which commanded the embankment, Chundah Saheb first threw a garrison into the island, and then crossing over with his main body, encamped on the east of the city. The English at Fort St. David's became alarmed. By dint of great exertion they collected about six hundred men, whom they forwarded immediately to Captain Gingens; yet he found himself, even when reinforced, incapable of acting on the offensive; and during the remainder of the summer Trichinopoly continued in a state of siege.

We took an opportunity, some time ago, of introducing into our pages a name which will ever be associated in the minds of Englishmen with some of the proudest recollections of Indian history. Mr. Clive, the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire, entered the service of the East India Company as a writer, a situation which accorded ill with the restless, and perhaps turbulent, temperament with which nature had endowed him. War no sooner broke out than he exchanged the pen for the sword, and the abilities, not less than the courage, which he displayed in the commencement of his new career, excited just hopes of the glory which marked its progress. At the siege of Pondicherry and the capture of Devi-Cotah, he was foremost in every enterprise, and his advice, had it been followed, would have saved the army from the disgrace, which cast a slur upon its reputation in the campaign of Golcondah. On the conclusion of that series of memorable blunders, however, Mr. Clive returned to the Presidency, where he was

employed for a while in conveying stores to Trichinopoly, but his aspiring mind soon became dissatisfied with such an occupation, and his sagacity at once enabled him to point out a more important field of enterprise. He suggested the propriety of creating a diversion by an attempt upon Arcot, and the government entering into his views, he was entrusted with the chief command of the force destined to realize them.

The resources of the English were, at this period, so reduced, that, though Fort St. David's was left to the keeping of only one hundred, and Madras to that of fifty men, not more than two hundred Europeans and three hundred Sepoys could be mustered for the field. Eight officers took charge of these, of whom four were young merchants, and two only had ever been in action before, while the train consisted of three field-pieces, small in calibre, and very indifferently equipped. With this detachment, (for it deserves no more sounding appellation,) Captain Clive marched from Madras. On the 29th of August he reached Congeveram, a considerable pagoda about forty miles inland, where he learned that the citadel of Arcot was garrisoned by eleven hundred men; but he halted only to refresh, sent back a requisition for two eighteen-pounders, and proceeded. On the 31st he arrived within ten miles of Arcot. It was a day of tremendous thunder and rain, and the spirited advance of the battalion, which seemed to set the elements at defiance, so astonished the Nabob's troops, that, without waiting to be attacked, they abandoned both town and citadel. Captain Clive took immediate possession of the

latter. He caused all private property to be respected, and by treating the inhabitants with marked kindness, at once reconciled them to their fate.

Though he had thus easily won the place, Captain Clive was too cautious not to provide against the attempts which he foresaw would be made to recover it. He laid in a store of provisions, as well as of ammunition, while he added to the defences of the citadel; and in order to keep alive as long as possible the impression created by his first success, made frequent incursions into the surrounding country. During one of these, he overtook and defeated the fugitive garrison at a place called Timery, six miles south-west of the city. On another occasion, he routed the same corps, reinforced by two thousand men, and chased them within Timery itself, which he failed in taking only because he was destitute of cannon of sufficient weight to breach the wall. His third enterprise was to direct a night-attack against a corps three thousand strong, which had ventured to approach within two miles of Arcot, and he utterly dispersed it, without the loss of a man. But the alarm was now spread; and Chundah Saheb, indignant at the loss of his capital, detached four thousand men, under his son Rajah Saheb, with strict orders to expel the English.

It was fortunate for Captain Clive, that a day or two previous to the arrival of this force, the two eighteen-pounders, for which he had written to Madras, came up, and were conveyed, though not without a warm contest, within the gates of the fort. This was scarcely effected, when Rajah

Saheb took possession of the town, and began to construct batteries. A sortie was attempted, but the musketry from the houses proved so murderous, that the garrison was compelled to retreat, after losing sixteen Europeans, including an officer killed, and an equal number wounded. On the following day, Rajah Saheb received a further reinforcement of two thousand men from Velore, under the orders of Mortiz Ally himself; and the siege was in consequence pressed with redoubled fury. Of Clive's eighteen-pounders, one was soon disabled, and the other dismounted and withdrawn. His light guns dared not show themselves, and under cover of certain buildings which overlooked the ditch, the enemy were enabled to sweep the parapet with a constant musketry fire, at thirty yards distance. There is no expedient used in such cases which Clive failed to bring into play. He erected a lofty tower, dragged to its summit an old Indian cannon, which threw balls seventy-two pounds in weight, and repeatedly fired it, though the machine was so feeble, that the gunners were necessitated to lay a long train from the touch-hole; and when the enemy endeavoured to foil him at his own weapons, by casting up a mound opposite to his, he threw in his shot with so much skill, as to ruin it within a few hours. But the superiority on the part of Rajah Saheb was too great; the garrison ceased at last to expose themselves, and two breaches were effected without opposition, measuring the one fifty, the other ninety feet in width.

Notwithstanding the vigilance with which all his proceedings were watched, Clive managed, by

means of spies, to make the authorities at Madras aware of the critical position in which he stood; and a body of one hundred Europeans and two hundred sepoys was sent to reinforce him. It was attacked on the march, about thirty miles from Arcot, defeated, and compelled to retreat to Ponamalee, a post belonging to the English, about fifteen miles west of Madras. Better success attended a communication which Clive opened with Morari Row, a Mahratta chief, whom Mohamed Ally had hired to espouse his cause. That officer, who had lain irresolute at the distance of two days' march from Arcot, was so much astonished at the obstinacy of Clive's defence, that he readily promised his assistance, and put his people in motion, with the intention of hazarding something in the cause of the English. Rajah Saheb received intelligence of the coming relief. Having vainly endeavoured both to overreach and intimidate his enemy, he resolved to try the effect of an assault; and choosing the 14th of November, a day on which every true believer is excited to the highest pitch of daring by religious zeal and intoxicating drugs*, he ordered his people to storm the breaches.

Captain Clive, with his gallant band, now reduced to the number of one hundred and twenty fighting men, had not been remiss in providing

* The festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hossein and Jussein, occurs on that day. It is celebrated with all kinds of excess; and the Mohamedans of India believe, that whoever falls on that day, fighting against the infidels, is immediately translated into the higher paradise.

against this extremity. Both apertures were cut off by retrenchments, and every exertion had been made to bring cross-fires as well upon the breaches themselves as upon the traverses beyond. When the evening, therefore, approached, they were met by a discharge so close and heavy, that no troops could have withstood it. They recoiled, retired, advanced again, and were again mowed down, till at last they abandoned the attempt, with the loss of four hundred in killed and wounded. They made no great delay in Arcot after this failure; for the same night Rajah Saheb fled, his army dissolving itself, and passing over by large detachments to the English.

Clive was joined on the following morning by a detachment from Madras; and, leaving a small garrison to keep possession of Arcot, marched out in pursuit of the enemy. He was met by a portion of Morari Row's Mahrattas, who had just suffered a surprise from a body of French troops near Vellore; and adding about six hundred of them to his little army, he pushed for Arni. Thither Rajah Saheb, strengthened by a corps of Europeans from Chittapet, had repaired. The two armies met; and Clive, though much inferior both in numbers and artillery, gained a splendid victory. He next directed his steps towards Conjeveram, of which, during the late siege, the French had made themselves masters, and which they had defiled by massacring within its walls a few wounded Englishmen who fell into their hands. The governor sought to preserve himself from the horrors of a siege, by threatening to expose two English officers upon the walls; but these brave

men, Lieutenants Revel and Glass, intreated Clive to take no heed of them, and to do his duty as if they were not in existence. He assailed the place, entered it after a three days' cannonade, and found that his friends were unhurt, and that the barbarous garrison had escaped. He blew up the works, and sending back five hundred men to keep possession of Arcot, returned in person to Madras.

While these brilliant operations were in progress in the province of Arcot, the siege or blockade of Trichinopoly went on with a degree of languor altogether inexplicable. The enemy constructed redoubts, indeed, and threw up batteries, of which the sites were very unskilfully chosen, and the fire from which produced no effect. As a matter of course, the courage of the English rose in proportion to the ignorance or timidity displayed by their enemies; till the very men who had shamefully abandoned their officers at Golcondah, blamed them for not rushing headlong into danger. But though there was slender ground of apprehension from the direct attacks of the enemy, the exhausted condition of Mohamed Ally's finances proved the source of much uneasiness. The English, instead of being supported by him, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, drew all their allowances from Fort St. David; his own troops were ripe for mutiny, in consequence of the long arrears due to them; and the petty chiefs dependent upon the ruler of the Carnatic were all in the interest of his rival. The only ally, indeed, to whom he could look for aid was the king of Mysore, whom an ancient feud rendered hostile to Chundah Saheb; and even he was not likely to

be roused to action, except by concessions which it might prove extremely inconvenient to grant. Matters, however, were desperate. A negotiation between the two princes was opened, and the sovereign of Mysore, besides engaging that a Mahratta force should be afforded, agreed to join the allies with all the troops disposable from the internal management of his own country.

The promised armies came in with remarkable fidelity; and the Mahrattas, bold and skilful in irregular warfare, proved exceedingly useful. More than one encounter took place between them and the enemy's cavalry, in which the Mahrattas proved themselves greatly superior, while a detachment was sent off under Morari Row, which, as has been apparent, proved eminently serviceable to Clive in his distress. Nor was this all. The successes of the last-mentioned officer soon drew to the standard of Mohamed Ally numerous Poligars and lesser chieftains, who had hitherto kept aloof; and even the king of Tanjore, after much hesitation, made up his mind to unite his fortunes with those of the English and their allies. Nevertheless, Captain Gingens was still reluctant to commit his army in any hazardous or desperate enterprise. He beat up the enemy's outposts, drew detachments of their horse into ambuscades, and showed both to them and to his friends, that prudence, not terror, restrained him; but he waited for succours which were promised from the Presidency, ere he would venture to attack their intrenchments.

Meantime Clive had returned to Fort St. David, and Rajah Saheb, encouraged by his absence,

once more took the field. He ravaged the Company's territory as far as St. Thomas's Mount, retook and restored the fortifications of Conjeveram, and created so much uneasiness, that it was resolved first of all to chastise him, ere the reinforcements promised to Captain Gingens should commence their march. Clive was put at the head of all the troops that could be trusted, which, including five hundred men withdrawn from the citadel of Arcot, and one hundred sent forward from Bengal, amounted only to three hundred and eighty Europeans, one thousand three hundred sepoys, and six field-pieces. With these he set out in quest of the enemy, who, besides two thousand five hundred horse, and a large train of artillery, could muster four hundred European and two thousand sepoy infantry. Nor did any great while elapse ere a collision took place. Clive failed to find the enemy where he had been given to understand that they had established a sort of standing camp. He justly apprehended that they had moved to the attack of Arcot, rendered almost defenceless by the withdrawal of so large a portion of the garrison; and he approached with rapid strides towards that place, though in profound ignorance of the route which they had taken. Just as the night was closing, his advanced guard received a heavy fire from nine pieces of cannon, posted in a grove not far from Coverepauk. An irregular action ensued by moonlight, in which, for a brief space, the English were hard pressed; but Clive, detaching two companies, under Lieutenant Keene, to the rear of the grove, took possession of the enemy's guns, and the face of affairs

became instantly changed. The enemy fled in great confusion. They left behind them nine guns, three cohorns, and many prisoners, of whom sixty were Europeans. Fifty Frenchmen, with three hundred sepoys, were counted dead upon the field; while the loss of the English amounted to thirty sepoys and forty Europeans.

Clive pushed first for Arcot and then for Vellore, with the hope that a rumour of his late successes might induce the governor to surrender; but ere he came in sight of the latter place, he was recalled to Fort St. David, where a large expedition was preparing. Major Lawrence had returned to India, bringing with him a considerable reinforcement of troops, and it was determined to employ the greater portion of them under Clive and himself in the relief of Trichinopoly. Four hundred Europeans, eleven hundred sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and a prodigious quantity of military stores, composed the army now sent from the Presidency, which began its march, not without a full assurance that every exertion would be made to intercept it by the way. But whether, as M. Dupleix alleges, M. Law, who commanded the French troops before Trichinopoly, was indolent, or whether, as M. Law asserts, Dupleix failed to supply him with adequate means, the corps received no serious interruption in its progress. Having repulsed a division with which it fell in, and driven the enemy from a fortified post, it arrived safely at Trichinopoly, where the whole plan of the campaign underwent an immediate and important change.

The defensive system was at once abandoned,

and Lawrence and Clive threatening post after post, so alarmed the besiegers, that they determined upon a retreat. Equally unwilling to risk an action, and to abandon altogether the attitude of superiority which he had hitherto maintained, Mons. Law withdrew across the Cavary, and, sacrificing a large quantity of stores, which he found it impracticable to remove, took post in the island of Seringham. No movement could display less of judgment or knowledge in military matters. The position assumed was doubtless strong, because the rivers, swollen by the rains, became difficult of passage; but the troops in possession were completely cut off from all means of acting on the offensive, and exposed to the hazard attending an absolute interruption of their communications. Clive and Lawrence were not slow in determining how it behoved them to act. At the suggestion of the former, it was resolved to run great risks for the attainment of a great end, and the army being thrown astride upon both branches of the Cavary, Chundah Saheb, with his allies, was placed in a state of siege.

The better to secure himself against an attack which might have been hazarded, Captain Clive, who commanded the division thus separated from its support, took possession of the village and pagodas of Samiavaram. He was thus circumstanced, when Dupleix, alarmed for the safety of Mons. Law, dispatched a corps of one hundred and twenty Europeans and five hundred Sepoys, to reinforce him. Clive marched rapidly to intercept this corps, leaving a small garrison in the village to deceive the enemy: a movement which brought

about a series of errors on both sides; from which, however, the English derived important advantages. It is an exceedingly difficult matter in Indian warfare to guard against the treachery of spies: of whom a greater or less number establish themselves in every camp. One of these no sooner saw Clive depart than he communicated the circumstance to the French commander-in-chief, who directed a night-attack to be made upon the village, denuded, as he believed it to be of its defenders. The detachment appointed to perform this service got under arms an hour or two after Clive's return: for the latter, having ascertained that the reinforcement had fallen back, retraced his steps without delay. It was met by the spy beyond the advanced sentries, and the officer in command warned of his danger; but he refused to credit the tale. On, therefore, the assailants moved; a body of deserters leading the van, and the whole passed the English outposts, which regarded them as a fresh battalion, sent out by Lawrence to support them. By this means the enemy gained the pagoda where Clive lay asleep; but being more narrowly examined here, they were discovered, and a tumultuary contest began. Clive himself, mistaking the enemy's sepoys for his own, escaped death only by his personal prowess, and again ran imminent danger by plunging unawares into the centre of the French detachment. But his presence of mind never forsook him. He assured the officer in command, that an immediate surrender could alone preserve the lives of his people, and he was believed, as those who act with coolness usually are by persons so circumstanced.

Nevertheless, the firing still continued; and though a large portion of the assailants submitted, not a few, particularly of the sepoys, effected their escape. It was, however, only to become victims of a more cruel fate. The Mahratta cavalry being sent in pursuit, overtook the fugitives on an open plain, and charging them, disheartened with their late failure, broke, dispersed, and cut them to pieces.

The enemy were now deprived of all the posts to the north of the Coleroon, with the exception of Pitchandah and Utatoor. They still, however, held Coiladdy, which commanded the eastern extremity of the island; and lest M. Law should endeavour to force his way through the opening, Major Lawrence detached the Tanjorines under their general, Monach-jee, to seize it. Monach-jee was successful, and the principal magazine of provisions having been established here, the enemy became more and more distressed. Still Law continued irresolute, trusting to the arrival of the promised succours, which were a second time stated to be on their march; but here also fortune declared against him. Major Lawrence not considering it safe that Clive should again divide his strength, sent a force from his own column, under Captain Dalton, to intercept these supplies, which attacked them unexpectedly, put them to flight, and pursued them to Golcondah. There they were betrayed by the governor, who, according to the custom of his country, changed sides as the scale of success wavered, and, after an ineffectual attempt to defend the lower fort, they surrendered.

The situation of Law, and of his friend, Chundah

Saheb, now became absolutely desperate. The English, superior both in numbers and skill, stormed and took Pitchandah, thus completing the circle, and hemming in their enemies on every side, while the spirits of the native soldiers fell every day, and they deserted by whole sections. An effort was made to obtain favourable terms of capitulation for the Europeans, while a negotiation secretly went on with Monach-jee for the escape of Chundah Saheb. The Tanjorine was liberal in his promises, and played his part so well as to deceive both the Nabob and M. Law; but the former no sooner entered the camp than he was seized, loaded with irons, and placed under a guard. The result may be anticipated. Monach-jee, finding that each of his allies asserted a right of possession to the person of his prisoner, became apprehensive of evil to himself, and, declining to yield him up to the safe-keeping even of the English, barbarously put him to death. Finally, the French force, after a good deal of altercation, surrendered the remaining pagoda, the officers giving their parole not to serve against Mohamed Ally again, the privates, whether Europeans, Caffres, or Topasses, remaining prisoners of war.

Extravagant were the hopes entertained by Major Lawrence and the English government in consequence of these successes. They looked upon themselves as virtually masters of the Carnatic, advised Mahomed Ally to march through the country without delay, and anticipated that every fortress, with the exception, perhaps, of Gingee, would open its gates on the first summons, nor was it without surprise that they found the new Nabob exhibit but a faint desire to act upon their suggestion.

The truth, however, proved to be, that, among other bribes offered as the price of the Mysorean alliance, a surrender of Trichinopoly, of which the king was exceedingly covetous, had been promised. The latter now urged his claim with such pertinacity, that the Nabob found extreme difficulty in resisting it; indeed, he was at last reduced to the necessity of pledging himself to admit a Mysorean garrison, so soon as he should have conquered some other suitable residence for his own family. But even this failed of reconciling the views of the contending parties. The Mahrattas, equally jealous of the Nabob and of the king of Mysore, began to correspond with Dupleix; the Mysoreans, intent only on the occupation of the city, refused to quit their camp, and Lawrence, after entrusting the citadel to a European garrison under Captain Dalton, found his numbers reduced to an amount quite unexpected. As a necessary consequence, the courage of Dupleix began once more to revive, and he strained every nerve to bring into the field an army adequate to cope with that of his adversary.

There were other circumstances than the dissensions among Mohamed Ally's supporters, which served, in some degree, to reconcile the French to their recent disasters. Mons. Bussy had been eminently successful in establishing an influence with the new Soubahdar, of whose elevation, indeed, he was the author, and who looked to him as his principal support against the machinations of a restless nobility. After severely chastising the Patan chiefs, by whom Murzafa-jing had been betrayed, he conducted Sallabat-jing in triumph to Golcondah, and seated him with great splendour on

the musnud at Arungabad. He received as his reward a commission, appointing Dupleix to be Nabob of the Carnatic, as well as several large sums of money, which he was directed to divide between his officers and himself. But Bussy was not a selfish intriguer. While he thus attended to his own interests and to those of his country, he made a point that the son of the late Soubahdar should be provided for, and obtained for him the government of the stronghold of Adoni, and of the territory dependent upon it. These points were scarcely arranged when Bussy was enabled still more to increase the weight of obligation under which Sallabat-jing lay to the French nation. The elevation of that prince being disputed, first by a body of Mahrattas, and afterwards by Ghazee-ud-dien Khan, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and vizier of the empire, Bussy hesitated not to turn his arms against both, and in a variety of rencontres defeated their hosts, though outnumbering him at least ten to one. That, however, which proved most advantageous in its final results, was a conspiracy entered into against Bussy himself, by the leading Omrahs about the Soubahdar's court. He was commanded to withdraw in disgrace, was followed and attacked by the way, and exhibited over his personal enemies the same superiority which he had hitherto displayed over the enemies of Salabat-jing. The Nizam found from this experiment that, whether as a friend or a foe, Bussy was not to be treated with neglect. He instantly recalled him, restored him to the plenitude of favour, and conferred upon him the sovereignty of the four important provinces of Mustaphanagur,

Ellore, Rajamundry, and Checacol. The acquisition of these (called the Northern Circars) rendered the French, says Mr. Orme, "masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of six hundred miles, from Medapelly to the pagoda of Juggernaut." "They not only afforded," continues Colonel Wilks, "the requisite pecuniary resources, but furnished the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius, and thus enabled Bussy to extend his political views to the indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south."

On the 28th of June, Major Lawrence began his march from Trichinopoly, at the head of five hundred Europeans, two thousand five hundred sepoys, and two thousand horse, commanded by the Nabob in person. He endeavoured to obtain possession of Golcondah, but the governor, though he took the oath of allegiance to Mohamed Ally, and paid eighty thousand rupees as arrear of tribute, refused to give up the place. The army then pushed for Trevadi, which submitted, whence Major Lawrence, giving up the command to Captain Gingens, proceeded, for the recovery of his health, to Fort St. David's. It was not more unfortunate for the honour of the English arms than for the interests of the Nabob that he did so, since his departure gave an opportunity for the undertaking of an enterprize to which he stood flatly opposed. In defiance of his strenuous remonstrances, a detachment, consisting of two hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred sepoys, was sent, under Major Kineer, to attack Gingee. Kineer suffered him-

self to be drawn into action among the rugged defiles which surround the place, and sustained a signal defeat. This was followed by another disaster, scarcely less to be lamented, and even more wantonly incurred. The enemy having marched a body of troops close to the bound-hedge of Fort St. David's, the authorities at Madras became alarmed for that settlement, and sent a company of Swiss along the coast in open boats to reinforce the garrison. The flotilla was attacked at the mouth of the river by a ship of war, and the soldiers made prisoners to a man. Lawrence, though as yet very imperfectly recovered, could no longer reconcile himself to a life of inaction. He took the field at the head of four hundred Europeans, seventeen hundred sepoys, and four thousand of the Nabob's irregulars, and went in pursuit of the enemy, who consisted of four hundred and fifty Europeans, fifteen hundred sepoys, and five hundred horse.

The approach of the English soon compelled the French to retreat with precipitation; they took shelter within the bound-hedge of Pondicherry, where, in consequence of the instructions conveyed to him by his government, Lawrence refrained from attacking them. But he was not the less anxious that a battle should be fought, because he abstained, through motives of policy, from violating the ancient territory of the enemy. He manœuvred, on the contrary, with the view of throwing upon them the odium of such results as might ensue, and conducted matters with a degree of address which could hardly fail of securing its object. As if seized with a sudden panic, he fell

back precipitately upon Bahoor; the French, in obedience to the peremptory orders of Dupleix, followed, and an opportunity was afforded to Lawrence of avenging, by a single blow, all the losses which his countrymen had recently suffered. Forming his people into two lines, and placing the sepoys in front, he charged his pursuers with so much impetuosity, that he broke and dispersed them at the point of the bayonet; nor in all probability would a man have escaped to tell the tale, had the Nabob's cavalry done their duty. But, in spite of the preference shown by these barbarians to the business of plunder over that of pursuit, the victory was so decisive as to annihilate, for a time, the French force in this quarter, while it determined the Mysoreans to break off the negotiation into which they had entered for the transference of their alliance to Dupleix. This brilliant affair was followed by the reduction of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput, and the conquest of all the country between Sadrass and Arcot, after which the army was compelled, by the severity of the monsoon, to return to Fort St. David's.

The rainy season was spent by both parties in making preparations for a fresh campaign, which opened early in January. The French, though inferior in European infantry, and barely equal in sepoys, greatly surpassed their opponents in the number and quality of their horse, yet they cautiously avoided a general action, and strove to harass Lawrence, by acting upon his communications, or interrupting and threatening his convoys. The consequence was, that the English army, besides suffering an extraordinary degree of fatigue,

spent many weeks in desultory and profitless skirmishes, till, in the month of April, intelligence came in from Captain Dalton, which gave a new turn to the state of affairs.

We stated some time ago, that Major Lawrence, when he broke up from Trichinopoly, after the victory of Seringham, left Captain Dalton in command of the citadel, and that a brother of Mohamed Ally, by name Keroodin Khan, acted in conjunction with him, as commandant of the town. The covering force was scarcely withdrawn, when the Mysoreans and Mahrattas began to devise plans for obtaining possession of the place. They first endeavoured to introduce their own troops by stealth within the walls, and finding themselves defeated there, strove to corrupt the garrison. They were detected on each occasion, and fully convicted of hiring assassins to murder Captain Dalton himself. Nevertheless, that officer bore, with laudable temper, all the insults to which he was subject. He even affected to doubt the validity of evidence, of which no serious suspicion could be entertained; nor was it till the Mahrattas began openly to intercept the provisions which the country people were conveying to the town, that he resolved to treat them as enemies. At length an open rupture occurred, and Trichinopoly was placed in a state of as close blockade as was consistent with the disorderly habits of eastern armies.

From November, 1752, up to the end of March, 1753, Captain Dalton continued to defend himself with all the spirit and enterprise of a good soldier. He made frequent sallies, cut off the enemy's pa-

troles, beat up their camp by night, stormed their works, and compelled them to draw off to a greater distance than proved either convenient or agreeable. At last, however, a party which he had sent to attack a fortified choultry, on the opposite bank of the Cavery, suffered itself to be surprised and cut to pieces. This was a severe blow upon Dalton, for there fell in the affair seventy of his best Europeans, besides three hundred disciplined sepoys; nevertheless, though too weak to venture thenceforth upon active operations, he still gallantly rejected all proposals of surrender. But the most imminent peril of all came now to be disclosed. On examining the magazines, which had been unaccountably entrusted to the charge of Keroodin Khan, it was discovered that, instead of provisions enough for six months' consumption, rations for fifteen days, on reduced allowance, alone remained, while the activity of the enemy had long ago precluded the hope of receiving any aids from the district round. In this emergency Dalton despatched a messenger to intreat the assistance of Lawrence, who in his turn lost no time in paying obedience to the requisition.

The Mahrattas and Mysoreans no sooner declared against Mahomed Ally, than Dupleix made every exertion to support them. Almost at the same moment when Lawrence began his march, there set out from the French camp at Trevadi a corps of two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, with four field-pieces, for Seringham; and it was somewhat remarkable, that on the very day after the former had entered Trichinopoly, the latter reached their destination in the island.

Once more, therefore, the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly became the principal theatre of war between these rival powers, for the army of each was from time to time reinforced, just as a decided superiority on the part of its rival began to be apprehended.

Of the many and brilliant affairs which occupied the space between May, 1753, and October, 1754, we cannot pretend to give any outline. We must content ourselves with stating that, whilst a variety of lesser operations were carried on elsewhere, both sides made gigantic exertions, on the one hand to reduce the city by famine, on the other to keep its storehouses supplied, and that the movements designed to accomplish these important objects often led to results of the greatest magnitude. In the end, however, the superior skill of Lawrence, admirably seconded by the bravery of his troops, prevailed. He engaged the French in a general action, defeated them, despite of tremendous odds, and recovered a commanding post which they had won early in the day. He baffled them likewise in various mock negotiations, detected their treasonable plots, and counteracted them; but before any advantage could be taken of these successes, or the enemy could recover their courage, a suspension of arms was proclaimed.

For some time back, the French East India Company had begun to distrust the flattering promises of Dupleix, and to express themselves weary of supporting the expenses of a war which served only to ruin their commerce. A similar feeling prevailed in England, where, as well as in his own country, the whole blame of the contest

was cast upon Dupleix; though the chief crime of which he seems to have been guilty was, that of acting with greater promptitude and self-devotion than marked the conduct of the English authorities. It was, indeed, useless for the accused party to assert that his interference in the quarrels of the native princes was compulsory. No credit was given to the statement; on the contrary, he was loaded with obloquy, as a selfish and ambitious man, though it was distinctly shewn that, in advancing what he conceived to be the interests of France, he had sacrificed the whole of his private fortune. Dupleix's projects failing to be realized, were condemned as from the first visionary, and it was determined to abandon at once and for ever the line of politics which he had chalked out.

With such opinions in equal favour at Paris and in London, little difficulty was found in bringing matters to a crisis. Commissioners were appointed to treat respecting an accommodation; and, as the first step towards securing it, Dupleix was superseded. On the 20th of August, 1754, M. Godheu arrived at Pondicherry, bringing with him full powers to concede everything for peace: and to the mortification of his predecessor, not less than to the joy of the English, everything was conceded. Mahomed Ally was acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic; the claims of the French upon the northern Circars were relinquished, and it was agreed that the colonists from each nation should thenceforth abstain from all interference with the affairs of the native princes. Finally, a treaty was signed, in which it was expressly stipulated that each party should rest satisfied with pro-

tecting itself from oppression, and its agents from insult.

The two men who affixed their signatures to this deed, Messrs. Sanders and Godheu, were scarcely removed from the scene of their labours, when the vision which they had assisted in conjuring up vanished into air. The English, in utter disregard of their own protestations, scrupled not to march into Madura and Tinevelly, for the ostensible purpose of reducing them to the obedience of the new Nabob, while the French, finding their remonstrances disregarded, were not backward in following the example. They, too, despatched a military force for the subjugation of the rajahship of Terrore, a country to which they laid claim by virtue of a grant made in their favour by the Mysore regent. Neither movement, however, led to a result at all commensurate with the expense and hazard attending it, for the chiefs or polygars of Madura and Tinevelly made an ostensible submission only so long as the English continued among them, while the French gave up the scheme as unprofitable and harassing to the troops engaged. But it was not so with reference to Vellore, the fortress of which Mortiz Ally had long been governor. As Mortiz had opposed Mohamed throughout, the English, after formally investing the latter with the insignia of office, agreed, on condition of receiving one-half the revenues, to assist him in vindicating his rights; and they were hindered from besieging Vellore itself only by the assembling of a French army, with which the governor of Pondicherry declared that he would protect his ally.

While these things were passing in the Carnatic, M. Bussy continued to command his auxiliary forces under the Soubahdar, Salabat-jing, whom he accompanied in various expeditions, one of which led him into Mysore. There was a strict alliance between the Mysorean government and that of Pondicherry; nevertheless, Bussy was compelled to act against the friends of his country, in his capacity of Omrah of the Deccan. He was not, however, inclined to push matters to an extremity, but exerted himself to bring about a good understanding between the belligerents, and he succeeded chiefly through the dread of a Mahratta invasion, in persuading the regent to pay to the Soubahdar the subsidy demanded of him. This campaign was scarcely ended, and a threatened quarrel between Salabat-jing and one of the most influential Mahratta chiefs composed, when a joint expedition was planned for the reduction of certain provinces, over which they respectively set up a claim of superiority. They united their forces, and marched first against the town of Savancore. It chanced that Morari Row, another Mahratta chief, of whom mention has more than once been made in the course of this history, was in possession of the place. He gave out that he would defend it to the last extremity, but the French Company being indebted to him in a considerable sum, he at the same time proposed to Bussy that the engagement should be cancelled, on condition that the confederates would abstain from offering to him any violence. The Soubahdar's Dewan, or chief minister of finance, who was already jealous of Bussy's influence, took

advantage of this circumstance to excite his master's suspicions. Once more the French were dismissed with ignominy, and a communication was made to the English, that the Soubahdar would gladly receive from them that assistance which had hitherto been afforded by their rivals. Bussy did not condescend to remonstrate. He even refused to enter into an alliance with Balagee Row, though the latter proved, by a display of chivalrous feeling very little usual in the east, that he was sincere in his advances; and proceeded by easy stages to Hyderabad, with the avowed intention of returning to Pondicherry. Meanwhile the English Presidency, who had occupied themselves since the peace in extirpating a nest of pirates on the Malabar coast, were earnestly solicited by Salabat-jing to send a body of troops to his support. They listened to the proposition, and had given orders that a force of three hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred sepoys should hold themselves in readiness, when information reached them from Bengal which caused them to reserve their strength for the resistance of a danger, more formidable than any by which the Company's power had yet been threatened.

CHAPTER IV.

Affairs of Bengal—Capture of Calcutta—Sufferings of the Prisoners—"The Black-hole of Calcutta"—Bengal retaken—Hoogly plundered—Hostilities with Suraja Dowla—Chandernagur taken—Intrigues to dethrone Suraja Dowla—Battle of Plassy—Accession of Jaffier Khan.

It was stated at the commencement of this volume, that the privileges granted by the Mogul to the Presidency of Calcutta were viewed with an unfriendly eye by the Soubahdar Jaffier Khan. Similar sentiments were entertained on the subject by the Vizier, who long refused to affix the royal signature to the deed by which they were awarded; but the united influence of bribery and terror at last prevailed, and all for which the English had petitioned was conceded. It was accordingly ordered, among other matters, that "a passport, signed by the President of Calcutta, should exempt from examination by the revenue officers of the royal government the goods which it specified," and that "the Company should be permitted to purchase the zemindary of thirty-seven towns lying ten miles south of Calcutta, along either bank of the Hoogly."

No great while elapsed ere the determination of Jaffier Khan to defeat the intentions of the emperor displayed itself. The proprietors of the towns in question were persuaded to demand for their

estates a price so exorbitant, that the Presidency, though exceedingly desirous, could not venture to make the purchase, while an interpretation widely different from that which the English had conceived it to bear, was put upon the decree relative to the transport of goods. It was announced that the Soubahdar would not permit any merchandize to pass except such as might be imported, or purchased for exportation, by sea; and he adhered with such pertinacity to this resolution, that the Company's agents were compelled to yield. Nevertheless, the spirit of enterprise was far from being destroyed. Receding from their pretensions when they saw that a contrary line of conduct would be useless, and applying themselves to make the most of the privileges which were not contested, our countrymen gradually obtained a monopoly of the carrying trade, and judiciously soothing the Soubahdar with occasional presents, rendered Calcutta one of the most flourishing stations in the east.

Jaffier Khan, who had no sons, married his only daughter, previous to his arrival in Bengal, to a chief of distinction, named Sujah Khan. This individual he appointed to act as his deputy in Orissa, for he possessed sufficient influence to obtain the annexation of that province to his already extensive viceroyalty; but finding him indolent and voluptuous, though humane and well-disposed, he determined to pass him by in the line of succession to the Soubahdarry. His designs were, however, counteracted chiefly through the skill of two brothers, who came as adventurers into Orissa, and received high preferments from Sujah.

On the death of Jaffier, which occurred in 1725, these so managed matters, that patents were procured from Delhi in Sujah's favour, and he was put in possession of Moorshedabad, the capital of Bengal, ere a movement could be made to oppose him. The brothers, as a matter of course, were liberally rewarded for their services. Over the province of Bahar, which had been recently added to Sujah's dominions, the younger, by name Aliverdi Khan, was, in 1729, appointed governor, while the elder, Hodgee Hamed, remained about the Soubahdar's person, in the capacity of dewan, or prime minister.

As usually happens under like circumstances, the brothers soon began to encourage views inconsistent with the debt of gratitude which they owed to the house of their benefactor. They aimed at the Soubahdarry itself; but the invasion of Nadir Shah, with the confusion incident upon it, prevented them from carrying their designs into execution, till after the death of Sujah Khan, which occurred in 1739. Against his son, Sereffraz Khan, however, a weak and violent prince, they at once took up arms, and put an end, in a single battle, both to his reign and to his life. Aliverdi Khan now caused himself to be proclaimed Soubahdar. He obtained a confirmation of his dignity from the Mogul, and governed the provinces with great vigour and singular address throughout a period of fifteen years.

It was during the reign of this prince that the Mahrattas, incited by Nizam-ul-Mulk, made repeated and formidable inroads into Bengal. They were met on each occasion by Aliverdi at the head of a gallant and well-disciplined army, who

defeated them in many encounters, though he was eventually reduced to the necessity of purchasing a peace. But the greatest danger to which he was exposed originated in a conspiracy among certain Patan chiefs, the bravest and most expert soldiers in his army. These men having been falsely accused by Hodgee, who put to death, under circumstances of extreme ignominy, one of their favourite leaders, broke out into open rebellion, and sustained several sharp conflicts with the forces employed to reduce them. Nor did they scruple to employ artifice for the purpose of obtaining revenge. Professing to be weary of the contest, they came, as if for the purpose of submission, into the tent of Zamder Hamed, the second son of Hodgee, and the favourite nephew of Aliverdi; and, stabbing him with their daggers, made themselves masters of Patna, as well as of the person of Hodgee himself, their inveterate enemy. Him they subjected to the most excruciating tortures, from which he was delivered only by a dose of poison, secretly conveyed to him by his wife, after which they again took the field with increased means against Aliverdi. But Aliverdi, though overwhelmed with grief at the fate of his brother and intended heir, exhibited no symptom of relaxed energy; on the contrary, he marched against them, overthrew them in a great battle, and drove them, with the loss of their commander, entirely from his dominions.

No son had been born to Aliverdi, and now that Zamder Hamed was dead, he adopted as his successor Mirza Mohud, the son of his deceased favourite. It was an injudicious choice, and to-

tally unauthorized even by the rights of seniority, for Zamder Hamed himself was only the second son of Hodgee, and his elder brother survived him. But the great affection which Aliverdi bore to the father was transferred to the son, whom he had for some years educated in his own palace, where, instead of correcting the evil dispositions of his nature, he suffered them to increase by overweening indulgence. Born without compassion, it was one of the amusements of Mirza Mohud's childhood to torture birds and animals; and taught by his minions to regard himself as placed above the infirmities of human nature, his innate cruelty, hardened by habit, rendered him as insensible to the sufferings of his own species as to those of the brute creation. In conception he was not slow but absurd; obstinate, sullen, and impatient of contradiction; yet notwithstanding his insolent contempt of mankind, native cowardice and the confusion of his ideas rendered him suspicious of all who approached him, excepting his favourites, who were buffoons and profligate men, raised from the rank of menial servants to be his companions. With these he lived in the indulgence of every species of intemperance and debauchery, more especially in drinking spirituous liquors to excess, which inflamed his passions, and impaired the little understanding with which nature had endowed him. He had, however, cunning enough to carry himself with much demureness in the presence of Aliverdi, whom no one ventured to inform of his real character, for in despotic states the sovereign is always the last to hear what it concerns him the most to know.

Such was the prince who, in the year 1756, succeeded, under the title of Suraja Dowla, to the Soubahdarry of Bengal. The first use which he made of power was to issue orders for the seizure of all the effects belonging to his aunt, the widow of his senior uncle, and the daughter of Aliverdi. He was baffled in this project by the timely flight of Kissendas, her principal agent, who took shelter with his mistress's treasures in Calcutta. His next measure was to march an army towards Purneah, where the son of his second uncle governed as Nabob, with the avowed intention of depriving him of his dignity and his life. But he had not proceeded farther than Raje Mahl, when intelligence of the escape of one of his victims reached him, and roused to the highest pitch the antipathy which he had long harboured against the English. A messenger was instantly despatched to remonstrate with the government, who, entering the city in disguise, was refused an audience by the authorities. This insult added fresh fuel to the fire of Suraja's indignation. He halted his columns, turned them furiously against the factory of Cossimbuzar, of which, as well as of the person of its chief, Mr. Wells, he made himself master, and paying no heed to the deprecatory addresses which now poured in from Calcutta, he pushed, with rapid strides, upon the Presidency itself.

It will be recollected that the city of Calcutta was one of the first belonging to the English in India, which the jealousy of the native powers permitted them to strengthen by a fort. The castle in question, afterwards recognised by the name of Fort William, was of the meanest de-

scription. It was situated near the river, about midway between the northern and southern extremities of the Company's territory, and consisted of four weak bastions, mounting ten guns each, with curtains composed of brick, and only four feet in thickness. Terraces constructed from the roofs of chambers formed the top of the ramparts, and the windows of the chambers themselves supplied the place of embrazures, while the whole were either overlooked, or seriously incommoded by dwelling-houses, store-rooms, and other structures erected close to the line of the ditch. It is true that the English had begun, of late, to add to the respectability of the defences, for they received intimation so early as the beginning of April, that a renewal of war with France was inevitable, but the progress made was so trifling when Suraja Dowla marched towards them, that they could not flatter themselves with being in any condition to stand a siege. In like manner the garrison, though consisting nominally of two hundred and sixty-four regulars and two hundred and fifty militia, could boast of no more than one hundred and seventy-four Europeans, scarcely ten of whom had ever seen other service than that of the parade, while there was not an officer within the walls competent to direct the movements of a company in the presence of an enemy. Nevertheless their case admitted of no alleviation. After trying every method to soften the Soubahdar without effect, they determined to trust to their own valour for safety, and arming about fifteen hundred natives with matchlocks, they made such general dispositions as appeared to their inexperience the best adapted to ensure success.

On the 18th of June, 1756, the outposts were furiously assailed. They were defended with some courage but little skill, and they were all carried in the short space of a few hours. As the garrison had trusted mainly to the resistance which these detached batteries were expected to offer, their consternation became excessive, when they found themselves cooped up within the walls of the fort; and the alarm soon spreading, all ranks ceased to calculate, except upon the best and speediest means of securing a retreat. There lay in the river more than sufficient tonnage to remove in good order all the European inhabitants from Calcutta; but the panic which prevailed in the place soon extended to the fleet, and the ships began one by one to slip their cables. All was now confusion and dismay on shore. Men, women, and children rushed indiscriminately to the water's edge, and boats pushed off so soon as there were people enough to direct them, while the entreaties of such as were left behind either failed to reach the fugitives, or were shamefully disregarded. Nor can it ever be forgotten, that among those who precipitately abandoned the place were Mr. Drake, the governor, Mr. Macket, Captain-commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant. These gentlemen, overcome by a sense of personal danger, threw themselves into two of the last boats which quitted the fort, and left Mr. Holwell and Mr. Pearks, with one hundred and ninety men, to provide, as they best might, for their own safety.

The horrible tragedy to which this disgraceful flight gave rise, is still familiar to the imagination of every English reader. After using every imaginable effort to bring back even one vessel

for their removal — after hoisting flags by day and throwing up blue lights by night—the remains of the garrison beheld themselves attacked on all sides by the Soubahdar's troops. Mr. Holwell did everything that man could do to encourage and cheer them, but they had lost all heart, and the ramparts were won. Some now cast themselves headlong from the bastions, to be cut down by the enemy's horse which scoured the open country; a few, creeping along the slime of the river, escaped; but one hundred and forty-six wretches were taken, and preserved to endure a fate which, for misery, has seldom been paralleled. They were thrust into a room twenty feet square, with only two small windows, both of which were obstructed by a viranda, and the door being locked upon them, they were left to their despair.

It was the very height of summer, and the night more than usually sultry even for that season. The excessive pressure of their bodies, one against another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed, soon convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night, and violent efforts were made to burst the door, but without effect, for it opened inwardly. Many now began to give loose to desperation, though Mr. Holwell, who had planted himself near one of the windows, contrived for a brief space to restrain them, by representing that their only hope lay in continuing as much as possible in a state of tranquillity both of body and mind. He then addressed himself to the officer who commanded the guard, an old jemadar, who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance, and promised him a thousand rupees in the morn-

ing, provided he would separate his prisoners into two chambers. "The old man," says Mr. Orme, "went to try, but, returning in a few minutes, said it was impossible, when Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum, on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal sentence, that no relief could be expected, because the Nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him."

In the meantime every minute had increased the sufferings of the captives. The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued perspiration, producing before long an intolerable thirst, which in its turn was succeeded by excruciating pains in the chest, and a feeling of absolute suffocation. Every effort was now made to obtain an increase of air and space. The wretched men tore off their clothes, and waved their hats backwards and forwards, but these movements afforded no relief, and it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and, after remaining a little while in this posture, should all rise again together. It was a fatal expedient, for at every movement some proved unable to recover themselves, and, being trodden under foot by their companions, perished miserably. Fresh attempts were now made, and with redoubled fury, to force the door; these likewise failed, and there arose a wild and unearthly cry, over which one word, that of water—water, could alone be heard. The Jemadar, who really pitied his captives, strove to gratify them, and caused skins filled with water to be placed against the windows, but the apertures were too narrow to admit them, and the sole consequence was an increase of suffering, by a further

exclusion of air. Their senses now forsook many of the captives. They raved, fought, and struggled to reach the skins, tearing each other down, and trampling the fallen to death, while the soldiery without held their torches on high that they might witness the terrible spectacle. But it is unnecessary to continue the narrative farther. Let it suffice to state, that when the Soubahdar next morning commanded the dungeons to be cleared, the door was found choked up with the dead; for out of the whole number imprisoned not more than twenty-three individuals survived the horrors of the night.

It so happened that intelligence of these disastrous events reached Madras at a moment when a combination of fortunate accidents had placed at the disposal of that Presidency both a fleet and an army adequate to avenge the sufferings of their countrymen.

It will be borne in mind, that soon after the conclusion of the treaty which established Mohamed Ally in the Nabobship of the Deccan, Captain Clive returned to England for the recovery of his health. He was received there with the attention due to his extraordinary talents and eminent services, and was afterwards sent out again in 1755, as second in command of a considerable armament destined to act in union with the Mahrattas against the French*. On his arrival at Bombay, however, where Admiral Watson and Sir George Rooke had

* Colonel Scott was, through the influence of the ministers, nominated to the chief command, but he died soon after his arrival, and Clive succeeded, as his employers desired that he should, to the vacant office.

preceded him, he found that an armistice was already concluded, and he accordingly gave his assistance in the reduction of Angria, a celebrated pirate, who kept the western coast of Hindostan in alarm. This service being happily ended, he repaired to Fort St. David's, of which he was nominated governor, while Admiral Watson proceeded with the fleet to Madras.

Clive had not remained long at Fort St. David's when he was summoned to Madras, for the purpose of giving his advice as to the measures best to be adopted in the present crisis. It has been shown that an application was made by Salabat-jing for the assistance of a corps of English, to enable him more effectually to deliver himself from the thraldom of M. Bussy and the French. The Madras authorities, well disposed to accede to the proposition, had given orders that a body of three hundred Europeans, with fifteen hundred sepoys, should hold themselves in readiness to march, when intelligence of the capture, first of Cossimbuzar and afterwards of Calcutta, reached them. This necessarily produced a strong revulsion in the views and feelings of the council, for though the position of Bussy excited a well-grounded jealousy, the absolute destruction of the Company's settlements in Bengal appeared a matter of infinitely greater importance. After much consultation, therefore, as to the propriety of attempting to carry both points, it was finally resolved to restrict their efforts to one, by employing all the means at their disposal in the recovery of Calcutta; and the command of the fleet being committed to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive was appointed to head the land forces.

On the 16th of October, the squadron set sail, having on board twelve hundred sepoys and seven hundred and fifty Europeans, of whom two hundred and fifty belonged to the king's service. On the 20th the expedition reached Fulta, a town at some distance down the Hoogly, whither the fugitives from Calcutta had betaken themselves, from whence, carrying the serviceable portion of these miserable men along with them, they proceeded towards the city. The ships came to anchor within gun-shot of the place on the 27th, when the troops being landed, preparations were made to assail it by sea and land; but the enemy, after an ineffectual attempt to surprise the land forces, fled from their posts on the firing of the fleet. Clive lost no time in taking possession. He found the merchandise belonging to the Company for the most part untouched, because it had been preserved for the use of the Soubahdar, but the houses of individuals were everywhere ransacked, and all private property was removed.

Clive had not long been in possession of Calcutta, when information was conveyed to him, that the important city of Hoogly, belonging to the Soubahdar, and situated about twenty miles up the river, lay exposed to insult or capture. He determined to attack it, and, though delayed by the grounding of one of the ships upon a sand-bank, he arrived before it on the 10th of January. A breach was effected the same day, and preparations were made to storm; but ere the assault could be given, the garrison abandoned the place, and Clive entered without firing a musket. He had scarcely done so when intelligence

came in, that hostilities between the French and English were begun, and Clive saw himself, with his handful of troops, exposed to the united attacks of the Soubahdar and of a corps of three hundred disciplined Europeans, supported by a formidable train of artillery.

It was fortunate for the English East India Company that the most pacific councils were, at this juncture, in favour with their rivals at Chandernagur. To the repeated solicitations of Suraja Dowla that they would join him, the French returned cold and evasive answers, while they proposed that they and the English, notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, should maintain a strict neutrality, one towards another. As may readily be imagined, Clive was too profound a politician not to enter with apparent sincerity into the scheme, at the same time that he laboured without ceasing to appease the fury of the Soubahdar. But the indignation of Suraja Dowla was too much excited to permit his listening to any amicable communication from that quarter. He put himself at the head of a large army, and marched in pursuit of Clive, who, after plundering Hoogly, had fallen back upon Calcutta; and on the 3d of February pitched his tents about a mile and a half from the Presidency.

Nothing daunted by this vast display of numbers, Clive entered at once upon offensive operations. He obtained from Admiral Watson a reinforcement of five hundred seamen, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 4th of February attacked the enemy's lines both in front and rear. The Soubahdar's followers were taken completely

by surprise. After giving their fire with little effect, and trying the issue of a few charges of cavalry, they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving about thirteen hundred men dead on the field, while the loss on the part of the conquerors scarcely amounted to two hundred. Suraja Dowla was astonished beyond measure at the audacity of this attack. He conceived all at once an exaggerated notion of the power and enterprise of his enemies, and he not only granted them peace on their own terms, including a restitution of all their factories and establishments, but proposed of his own accord to enter with them into an alliance offensive and defensive.

An accommodation with so formidable an enemy was that of which, under existing circumstances, the English were most desirous. But the first use which they made of their newly-acquired influence put an almost immediate stop to the growing friendship of the Soubahdar. Clive requested permission to attack the French factory at Chandernagur, and because the Soubahdar evaded, rather than peremptorily rejected the proposal, resolved to interpret the answer according to his own wishes. But the troops were scarcely across the river when difficulties arose, which it required all the firmness, and something of the finesse of this politic warrior to overcome. In the first place, Suraja Dowla now laid aside his reserve, and threatened to interfere by violence, should such a measure prove necessary, in defence of his ancient allies. In the next place, some members of the council entertained serious scruples as to the propriety of commencing hostilities against men with

whom they had, but a few weeks previously, contracted a solemn league of neutrality. It was true that, on the part of the French, such treaty could not be contracted, except provisionally, because the factory of Chandernagur, being dependent on Pondicherry, could execute no deed of a public nature without receiving the sanction of the Presidency. But the leaders of the English expedition carried with them ample powers, and if they had not actually affixed their names to the deed, they had signified to the agents of the French establishment their perfect willingness to do so. Nevertheless, in this as in other cases, where transactions are between nations, and not between individuals, that which might have been strictly just was made to give place to that which was highly convenient. There came in also at the same moment a message from the Soubahdar, which seemed to imply that he was ready to purchase the friendship of the English on any terms, and intelligence of the arrival of four ships, having troops on board from Bombay, at Madras. The hesitation of Clive and his associates instantly gave way; the French deputies were dismissed, and the army and the fleet began their movement.

The French, though they defended themselves with great spirit, were at last obliged to surrender, being borne down by the vigour of Clive's approaches, and the irresistible fire of the fleet; but their subjugation was not viewed with indifference by Suraja Dowla. That prince, on the contrary, who had been induced to dissemble his real feelings, through apprehension of the Abdallas, then masters of Delhi, no sooner became aware of the

movements of the English, than he protested warmly against them; and, though he failed in diverting them from the attack of Chandernagur, he positively refused to give up to their pleasure the remainder of the French settlements within his dominions. It was very evident that with such a monarch no terms could be maintained, and at the suggestion of Clive it was resolved to effect a revolution in the government of Bengal.

Among the many persons of note whom the capricious tyranny of Suraja Dowla had disgusted, there was one who, from the official situation which he held, and his connexion with the reigning family, appeared peculiarly well qualified to serve the purposes of the English. Meer Jaffier Khan, the individual in question, had married one of Aliverdi's sisters, and, being an officer of distinguished character, was promoted to high rank in the army. With him it was determined to open a negotiation, and, as good fortune would have it, there resided in Moorshedabad the most convenient of all instruments through whom to conduct so delicate a treaty. This was Omichund, a Hindoo merchant, of whose treachery little notice has been taken, though much has been said of his punishment, by writers unfriendly to the memory of Clive—a man possessed of great wealth, generally speaking friendly to the English, but prepared to sacrifice both them and all the world besides for the furtherance of his own interests. Being familiarly known to most of the nobles about the Soubahdar's court, he found no difficulty in passing to and fro among them, and by his instrumentality a treaty was drawn up which, on certain con-

ditions, assured to Meer Jaffier a succession to the musnud. Before the deed was actually signed, however, Omichund threw off the mask. He had all along acted for hire, and large sums were promised in the event of the negotiation being brought to a successful issue; he now threatened that if these sums were not doubled he would disclose to the Soubahdar the whole of the secrets that had been intrusted to him. Such a threat, coming from such a quarter, was not to be despised, for the lives of Meer Jaffier and Mr. Watts, the English resident at Moorshedabad, were in his hands, and the interests of the Company, if not its very existence, hung in the balance. It was, therefore, suggested that a two-fold bond should be executed, one real, the other fictitious; that the latter only, which secured to him the full amount of his demand, should be shown to Omichund, while the former should be kept back till after the final termination of the intrigue. Col. Clive in particular, with whom this project originated, has been severely censured, as acting with consummate duplicity, nor can either his conduct or that of his coadjutors in office be defended on the ground of abstract probity; but when the circumstances of the case are rightly considered, it will perhaps appear that the sum of their offence amounted to nothing more than the defeating an artful intriguer with his own weapons. The man who can turn round, for mercenary purposes, upon his confederates in any plot, and threaten them with ruin, deserves little delicacy of treatment at their hands.

These matters being fully adjusted, a formal agreement was entered into, by which the English

engaged to assist Meer Jaffier in dethroning the Soubahdar. It was stipulated that Jaffier should join them on a certain day at Cutwa, with as many troops as he should be able to draw together, and that he should pay, as the price of his elevation, a million rupees to the Company, five millions to the English inhabitants of Calcutta, two millions to the Indians, and seven hundred thousand to the Armenian merchants; that the squadron should receive a donation of two millions five hundred thousand rupees, the army a donation to a similar amount, and that large sums should be paid to the different members of council. But the most important condition of all was that which provided for the total exclusion of the French from the kingdom of Bengal; whilst the territory surrounding Calcutta, to the distance of six hundred yards beyond the Mahratta ditch *, together with all the lands lying southward as far as Culpee, should be granted to the English on zemindary tenure, the Company paying the ordinary revenues in the same manner as other zemindars. Such was the treaty which, after numerous delays and hazards, received its final ratification on the 10th of June; and on the 12th, Clive, with the army, a portion of which was embarked in boats, moved towards Moorshedabad.

It is not to be imagined that, in this scene of plotting and treachery, our countrymen and their friends were the only actors. Suraja Dowla,

* The Mahratta ditch was an unfinished trench, which the English were permitted by Aliverdi Khan to dig, as a protection against the sudden inroads of Mahratta enemies.

hating the English, though restrained from exhibiting his hatred by a boundless respect for their power, was not less busily engaged all the while in conducting negotiations with their enemies. When he found himself unable to save the French fortress of Chandernagur, he caused M. Law, the commandant, to march into Bahar, that he might be in readiness to return whenever the fitting opportunity should occur. At the same time he corresponded with M. Bussy, who had dexterously freed himself from the toils, and was once more in full favour with the Nizam, entreating him to invade Bengal, and promising to support him with the whole strength of the province. His own army, moreover, took the field, ostensibly for the purpose of overawing the Mahrattas, but, in reality, that it might be prepared to take advantage of any accident for the recovery of Calcutta. But Suraja Dowla was no match, even in intrigue, for the enemies to whom he was opposed. His fears prevailing from time to time, produced a wavering in his councils, which rendered every scheme abortive as fast as it had come to a head; while his adversaries, keeping one object continually in view, pressed steadily towards it, in spite of a thousand obstacles, which their firmness eventually overcame.

One of the chief difficulties in the way of Clive and his associates at Calcutta, consisted in a well-grounded apprehension for the safety of their friends in Moorshedabad. It seemed hardly possible to conceal, for any length of time, so extensive a conspiracy from the observation of its object; and they were well aware that the first disclosure of the truth

would act as a signal for the execution of all concerned. Even here, however, fortune forsook them not. First Omichund, then Mr. Watts, effected his escape; while Meer Jaffier, shutting himself up in a fortified palace, prepared to stand upon his defence. But the moment had now arrived when further concealment was useless. From Chandernagur, Colonel Clive addressed a letter to Suraja Dowla, in which he reproached him with treachery and a breach of faith, and openly called upon him to choose between submission to the demands of the English and war. This letter, with intelligence of the flight of Mr. Watts, at once opened the eyes of the Soûbahdar to the perils of his situation. Instead of attacking Jaffier in his castle, as he had intended to do, he strove to separate him, by large promises, from his new friends; and he so far succeeded as to obtain an oath on the Koran that his general would not betray him. The consequence was, that Jaffier, again admitted to the royal presence, marched, with his master, against the English, instead of coming, as he had engaged, to join them with his contingent.

In the meanwhile, Clive, ignorant of these proceedings, had advanced to the place of rendezvous. No allies met him there; but in their room there came letters from Meer Jaffier, entreating the English to press on, and promising that he would embrace the first opportunity, as soon as the battle began, of withdrawing from the Soubahdar's lines. Clive hesitated as to the degree of confidence which it might be prudent to repose in this assurance. The Hoogly was in his front, fordable only in

one place, with an extent of one hundred and fifty miles of hostile country between him and his supplies. It appeared the height of rashness to rush into such dangers, when a defeat, if sustained, must be productive of utter ruin. For the first and last time in his life, Clive called a council of war, which, like most assemblies of the kind, decided against a forward movement. But he refused to abide by the decision, put his columns in motion, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 23d of June, took up a position in the grove of Plassy.

The little army which was now to contend for the sovereignty of Bengal, consisted of three thousand two hundred men, of whom not quite nine hundred were Europeans; while their park of artillery contained eight six-pounders, with two small howitzers. The men were scarcely laid down to rest, and the sentinels planted, when a loud beating of drums, mixed with the braying of trumpets, gave notice that the enemy was at hand. The case was so; for Suraja Dowla, contrary to his original plan, had advanced from Muncarra, and was now in full force about a long cannon-shot in their front. His army, which amounted to fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, with fifty pieces of cannon, covered a prodigious extent of country, and occupied an entrenched camp which had been formed some time; yet was the Soubahdar far from being at his ease. He dreaded the discipline and cool courage of the English; he distrusted the fidelity of those about him; and he looked with the utmost apprehension to the battle which was now inevitable. Nor were his doubts and apprehensions groundless.

The battle of Plassy is one of those affairs of which it is impossible to give any distinct account, and on the issue of which it were vain and childish to reason. Clive deserves immortal honour for the courage which induced him to adventure upon it at all; but the battle itself seems to have been nothing more than an irregular cannonade, occasionally relieved by a feeble charge of cavalry. It began at eight in the morning of the 23d of June, and ended by the absolute rout of the Soubahdar's host at five o'clock in the evening. Yet during this extended period, the loss sustained by the English amounted to no more than sixteen sepoys killed, thirty-six wounded, with twenty Europeans killed and wounded. This fact alone may suffice to show, that however formidable in appearance the advance of nearly seventy thousand undisciplined and ill-armed men may be, their capability of acting with effect against a handful of soldiers is small indeed; more especially when, as in the present instance, there is neither courage nor conduct among the leaders.

As soon as the rout of his followers became apparent, Suraja Dowla, who sat in his tent during the battle, mounted a fleet camel, and, attended by two thousand chosen horsemen, escaped to Moorshedabad. He was not pursued, because his flight was for some time unknown; but a detachment from the English army followed the crowd as far as Daudpore, for the purpose of keeping it dispersed, where, leaving the plunder of the camp behind, the main body also arrived, at eight o'clock in the same night. It was at this place that Meer Jaffier, who, if he failed to act

vigorously, at least held back from the late contest, was saluted by Colonel Clive as Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, after which the latter pushed upon the capital. Meanwhile, the unhappy prince whom he endeavoured to overtake had already abandoned it. He fled by water towards Bahar, with the design of throwing himself upon the protection of M. Law; but his rowers, being weary, stopped at Raje Mahl, and he fell into the hands of a private enemy. He was carried back in chains to Moorshedabad, and secretly put to death on the night of his arrival.

So far all things had succeeded according to the wishes of the confederates. Jaffier Khan, being formally placed upon the throne, was acknowledged Soubahdar by the people of the capital; and nothing remained except to fulfil the conditions to which he had pledged himself in favour of his English allies. But many and serious difficulties arose in the adjustment of this point. It was found quite impracticable to raise so large an amount of money as Jaffier, under various pretexts, had agreed to pay, while extravagant claims were set up by others, besides the English, on the score either of relationship or special services. In the end, however, the English were content to receive one-half of their promised donative. Omichund was coolly informed that not a rupee would be paid him, and the rest of the expectants were put off, some with a greater, some with a less share of their dues.

One danger alone remained to disturb the seeming tranquillity of the new Soubahdar. M. Law, with his party, having failed to join Suraja Dowla

in sufficient time to take part in the battle of Plassy, retreated again into Bahar, where they were well received by the deputy-governor, Ramnarain, a Hindoo by birth, but strongly attached to the family of Aliverdi. As Jaffier distrusted his own troops, a detachment of English, under Major Coote, was sent to assert his authority. The troops proceeded in boats, which were so wretchedly manned and equipped, that their progress proved both slow and hazardous; and when Coote, disembarking, endeavoured to push forward by land, the European portion of them broke out into mutiny. The consequence was, that long ere they reached Patna, the French, after being amply supplied with everything necessary to their convenience, were sent into Oude, where they found a ready shelter.

Coote was now instructed to act openly against Ramnarain, and prepared to do so; but ere he had taken any decisive step, counter-instructions recalled him, and the submission of the Hindoo was accepted. He then returned to Moorshedabad. His detachment was stationed at Cossimbuzar. The rest of the army took up its quarters at Chandernagur; and Clive, having committed the conduct of the Company's affairs with the Soubahdar to Messrs. Watts, Managhan, and Scrafton, departed for Calcutta.

CHAPTER V.

Operations in the Carnatic—Arrival of M. Lally—Capture of Fort St. David—Naval action—Reduction of Conjeveram—Siege of Tanjore—Second naval action—Lally takes Arcot—Besieges Madras, and is repulsed—Conjeveram taken by the English—British repulsed from Wandewash—Arrival of Colonel Coote—Battle of Wandewash—Capture of Pondicherry.

At the moment when Colonel Clive's expedition set out to avenge the capture of Calcutta, the utmost exertions were making by the authorities both at Pondicherry and Masulipatam, to relieve M. Bussy from the state of siege in which he was kept at Chamoul. Of the circumstances which led him there, some account has already been given. Driven from the presence of the Nizam by the intrigues of his enemies, he proceeded leisurely homewards, in the full persuasion that he would even yet be recalled ere he reached the Carnatic; but the influence of the adverse faction prevailing, he was closely pursued, and surrounded in his quarters by a numerous and well-appointed army. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and coolness of the French troops in this trying situation. They not only repulsed every attack, but made frequent sallies, driving before them division after division; till their numbers daily diminish-

ing, and their ammunition beginning to fail, they were at length compelled to act wholly on the defensive. Such was their condition, when a reinforcement, under M. Law, marched from Masulipatam to their support. It was not without severe fighting, and the endurance of many hardships, that the two corps met; but they did effect a junction at last; and having once more beat up the Indian camp, they fell back in good order upon Hyderadabad. Here a reconciliation took place between Bussy and the Nizam. The enemies of the former were given up to him, he was reinstated in all his dignities, and the influence of his nation became more than ever established at the court of Arungabad. Bussy then marched into the Circars, for the purpose of restoring order, and collecting certain arrears of revenue; and was thus employed, when he received the summons from Suraja Dowla, of which notice has just been taken.

These events befell towards the close of 1756, a season little memorable for any other exploit of importance performed south of the Nerbudha, either by the English or the French. With respect to the former, indeed, they found themselves involved in tedious and troublesome disputes with several of the chiefs and rulers of the Carnatic, particularly with those of Tinivelly and Madura, both of whom refused to continue their payments. Against them, Captain Calliaud, who commanded in Trichinopoly, led an army. Of Tinivelly, an open town, he immediately recovered possession; but Madura he found himself unable, for want of battering cannon, to reduce. In like

manner, a force was despatched from Madras, to assist the Nabob in recovering possession of Vellore, a fortress situated in the north of the Carnatic, of which the Nabob's brother was governor. This attempt likewise proved abortive, the troops being repulsed from the breach; and ere a fresh assault could be given, their services were required elsewhere. The French were now in the field; and the authorities at Madras, alarmed for the Presidency itself, hastily recalled Colonel Forde for their protection.

Though war between the two nations had been some time formally declared, their mutual weakness, occasioned by the departure of Colonel Clive's and M. Law's divisions, rendered both parties averse to the commencement of hostilities in the Carnatic. When the French, however, beheld their rivals engaged in operations so harassing and disjointed, they also conceived that they might, with perfect safety, strike a blow; and on the 6th of April, 1757, two hundred Europeans and one thousand sepoys marched, under the command of M. D'Auteuil, from a standing camp which they occupied in front of Pondicherry. Their first attempt was upon Ellavanasore, a place of no great strength, but held by a chief who exercised the calling of a freebooter, and drove off the cattle both of friend and foe, as often as an opportunity offered. Meer Saheb, for such was his name, bravely sallied out against them. He charged with so much vehemence, that he had well nigh broken and dispersed them, when he was himself shot dead by a musket ball; upon which his followers fled in confusion, and the

same night evacuated their hold. It was this movement on the part of the French which caused the sudden recall of Colonel Forde from Vellore. No one could tell whither they designed next to bend their steps; and Madras, being almost entirely stripped of its garrison, appeared to the members of the council to be in imminent danger. But M. D'Auteuil's views were directed to a very different object; and for a time the Presidency was spared. Having reduced one or two forts of lesser importance, and levied a heavy contribution upon the open country, he pitched his camp at Ariclore, where he remained for a while inactive, waiting, as it seemed, for some intelligence which might guide his future proceedings.

Explicit orders had been given to Colonel Clive, previous to his departure for Calcutta, that he should return at all hazards, and under all circumstances, in April, with a portion of his army. On the 28th, advices reached the Presidency, not only that Clive entertained no intention of obeying these orders, but that not a man could be spared from the force employed in Bengal. But a short while elapsed ere this welcome news was communicated to the government of Pondicherry. They hastened to take advantage of it; and well aware that they should be free from all serious interruption during the remainder of the summer, they adventured upon an attempt as bold as it was judicious. Withdrawing every disposable soldier from their less important forts, and enrolling the white inhabitants for the defence of the city itself, they reinforced M. D'Auteuil to the amount of one thousand European infantry, one

hundred and fifty hussars, three thousand sepoys, and ten pieces of cannon, and directed him to attack Trichinopoly, which lay much exposed, in consequence of the absence of Calliaud, with the better part of the garrison. D'Auteuil was not slow in acting upon his instructions. He pushed on Trichinopoly with rapid strides, strove to intimidate the governor by frequent alarms, and once, at least, made a show of carrying it by escalade; but his efforts proved, on each occasion, abortive, because Captain Smith had long suspected his design, and had prepared against it. Nevertheless, fifteen hundred men, of whom not more than eight hundred could be trusted, formed but a very inadequate guard to a city which, besides containing four hundred French prisoners, measured upwards of six thousand yards in circumference; and Trichinopoly would have doubtless fallen, had not Smith found means to convey to Calliaud information of the perilous predicament in which he stood. The latter instantly broke up from before Madura. He left his artillery and baggage behind, under a sufficient guard, carried with him a few rounds of spare ammunition upon bullocks, and, out-manœuvring the enemy, penetrated through a supposed swamp, and entered the town. This success gave a death-blow to the hopes of M. D'Auteuil, who forthwith raised the blockade, and after a short halt in the island of Seringham, where he established a garrison, marched back to Pondicherry.

Intelligence of the march of the French upon Trichinopoly, and of the failure of their own troops before Madura, came in to the Presidency

of Madras almost at the same time. They determined to create a diversion in favour of the former place, by making an inroad into the enemy's country; and Wandewash being a town of some importance, it was judged prudent to make the first essay against it. Unfortunately, they entrusted the command of the armament to a man totally unaccustomed to Indian warfare, and bigotedly attached to established usages, as they were in fashion in the old school of Europe. Colonel Aldercron, the leader of the troops, marched so faithfully according to rule, that he contrived not to reach his place of destination till the return of D'Auteuil from Seringham. Nevertheless, the Colonel took possession of the Pettah, threw a few shells into the fort, and setting fire to the open town, fell back, with the loss of ten men wounded, to Madras.

It is not necessary to detail at length the series of petty operations which followed this abortive expedition. The French, in revenge for the destruction of Wandewash, ravaged the Company's territory, burned the flourishing city of Conjeveram, and drove its inhabitants into the woods; while the English contented themselves with making frequent reprisals, and endeavouring, without effect, to bring their enemy to battle. Captain Calliaud likewise renewed his attempt upon Madura, of which, in spite of a second and more serious repulse, he obtained possession; while the Mahrattas added not a little to the general distress by a threatened inroad into Arcot. With some difficulty, their retreat was purchased by the payment of a heavy sum, under the appel-

lation of *chout;* but they were scarcely withdrawn, when fresh dangers arose, from the arrival in Pondicherry roads of a squadron of twelve ships of war. A thousand Europeans landed from this, gave to the enemy so decided a superiority, that our countrymen would not venture any longer to keep the field. Captain Calliaud accordingly retired to Trichinopoly. Colonels Aldercron and Lawrence shut themselves up in Madras; while the French, reducing Chittapet, Trinomalee, Gingee, and other forts adjacent, obtained a considerable accession to their resources. Such were the last operations of any magnitude performed by the belligerents during the season; for while the one party esteemed it prudent to pause till the arrival of a long-promised armament from Europe, the other were not averse to husband their resources against the danger with which they knew themselves to be threatened.

One of the first measures of the French government on the breaking out of war in 1756 was to prepare a formidable force, with which to carry on operations with vigour and effect against the English settlements in India. A squadron of four ships of the line, with a frigate and an armed cruiser, belonging to the East India Company, was placed under the order of the Count D'Ache, a seaman, as was believed, of great courage and considerable experience. A land force, comprehending one thousand and eighty men of the regiment of Lally, fifty artillerymen, and many officers of distinction, was embarked on board of the squadron; and the chief command of the whole was given to the Count de Lally, the

descendant of an Irish family, and a lieutenant-general in the French service. A number of untoward accidents occurred to retard the departure of this expedition. The ships had scarce cleared Brest harbour, when a storm arose, which compelled them to return, with heavy damage; and ere they had undergone the repairs necessary to enable them again to put to sea, the destination of two of their largest vessels was altered. Further delays arose out of this, which were, however, obviated by the supply of additional tonnage by the Company; and on the 4th of May, 1757, Lally at last quitted his anchorage. But even then his troops carried along with them the seeds of a malignant fever, of which upwards of three hundred died, whilst a tedious sojourn at Rio Janeiro for refreshment, with the necessity of collecting a further reinforcement at the Mauritius, rendered his voyage one of the most harassing which of late years had been performed.

It was not till the 25th of April, 1758, that this long-expected armament came in sight of the Coromandel coast. The admiral was immediately instructed to steer for Fort St. David, opposite to which the main body of the fleet arrived on the 28th, while Lally proceeded with two ships to Pondicherry, for the purpose of explaining his plan of campaign to the local authorities. It was of the boldest and most enterprising kind. He had resolved, with the sanction of the government at home, to commence operations with the siege of Fort St. David; and his present visit to the Presidency was for the purpose of putting in motion all the disposable means which he might

find within reach. Nor was any opposition offered to this project by men who appeared quite as sanguine as himself. One thousand Europeans, with an equal number of sepoys, were speedily under arms; and before sunset on the same evening, began their march. But they marched under guides singularly disqualified for their office, while of provisions, and even spare ammunition, they were destitute. The consequence was, that after a troublesome and distressing night-journey, they arrived next morning in sight of the place with bodies jaded through fatigue and inanition, and spirits unhinged and broken. A scene of plundering and insubordination followed; which, had a party of English sepoys, sent to attack them, done their duty, might have overthrown at once all the high hopes of Lally and his employers.

In the meanwhile, the squadron had approached the roads so unexpectedly, and in such order, that two British frigates, which chanced to be at anchor, found it impracticable to escape. The commanders promptly ran them on shore, by which means the crews were saved; and a very acceptable addition of five hundred men was made to a garrison by no means excelling in numbers. It was not, however, in numbers only that the garrison of Fort St. David was weak: there was a sad deficiency of military skill within its walls, where the officer of greatest experience was Major Polier; a gentleman not wanting in personal courage, but quite unqualified for command. Nevertheless, both he and Mr. Wynch, the acting governor, returned a spirited refusal to Mr. Lally's summons, and hostilities began.

It was the intention of the French general to land his own division on the banks of the Penar, for which purpose the fleet brought up off Cuddalore. But ere a boat had been launched, or a man removed from his station, a serious interruption occurred. Admiral Pococke, with his squadron from Bengal, had arrived at Madras on the 24th of February. On the 24th of March, he was joined by five sail under Admiral Stedman, from Bombay; and on the 17th of April the whole steered to the southward, with the design of intercepting the French, of whose approach they had received information. Having worked up, in ten days, to the head of Ceylon, they again bore down for the coast, making Nagapatnam on the 28th; from which point they proceeded alongshore all night, and on the following morning descried the enemy at anchor. Pococke instantly prepared to engage, while the French, hoisting all sail, steered for Pondicherry, with the hope of being able to form a junction with their two partners, to whom they made frequent signals. It is not quite certain whether these signals were observed; but before any notice was taken of them, the battle began. It ended in the discomfiture of the French. Nevertheless, as their ships far surpassed those of the English in the quality of sailing, they all escaped with the exception of one, which was accidentally driven on shore.

While the cannonade lasted, both fleets fell considerably to leeward; and six days elapsed ere the French were enabled to land the troops at Pondicherry. As fast as they came on shore, however, they were forwarded to Fort St. David,

of which the siege was pressed with great vigour. In providing the means necessary for this arduous undertaking, M. Lally is accused of setting the prejudices and feelings of the people shamefully at defiance. There seems to be a great deal of truth in the accusation, for he permitted no reverence for custom or caste to exempt any portion of the native community from such services as he deemed essential; but, on the other hand, it is no more than justice to allow, that he was not without weighty excuses for his conduct. He found the government of Pondicherry administered by men who, trusting all to the exertions of others, took no pains whatever to smooth the way for such exertions. The treasury was empty; there were neither horses nor draft-bullocks for the guns; provisions were scarce, and the means of transport wholly wanting. It was against such disadvantages that Lally found himself called upon to bear up, at a moment when nothing but the most extensive triumphs were looked for; and if he did transgress the strict rule of propriety and decorum, perhaps he was less to blame than those whose business it was to have obviated the necessity. Be this, however, as it may, the alacrity and perseverance with which he prosecuted his first grand object deserve ample praise, of which the faults in the temper and ulterior conduct of the man ought not to deprive him.

Notwithstanding the radical defect of want of room in the body of the place, which measured no more than three hundred and ninety feet from north to south, and one hundred and forty from east to west, Fort St. David was at this period by

far the strongest place of arms throughout the whole of the British possessions in India. It was situated in a sort of island, formed by the Trepopalore river on the south, by the sea on the east, by the Penar on the north, and a canal connecting the last-mentioned stream with the Trepopalore on the west; and it was doubly defended in consequence of its position in an angle between the river Trepopalore and the canal. With respect to the works again, they consisted of four bastions, surmounted by twelve guns each; and a curtain, which, as well as the bastions, was covered by a fausse-bray, with a brick parapet; whilst the outworks were a horn-work to the north, mounting thirty-four guns, two large ravelins, one on the east, the other on the west, and a ditch encircling the whole, which had a cuvette cut along the middle, and was supplied with water from the river. The scarp and counterscarp of the ditch were faced with brick; a broad covered way, excellently pallisadoed, with arrows at the salient angles, commanded the glacis; and the glacis itself, besides being mathematically sloped, was provided with well-constructed mines. The ground, however, by which the fort was surrounded, was in many places not favourable to the garrison. Besides a variety of sand-hills, which furnished admirable cover to the assailants, there was a ruined redoubt, composed of stone work, on the bank of the canal, about thirteen hundred yards from the glacis; while two others were placed, one two hundred yards to the right of the former, and another about four hundred yards to the rear of both. Of these the governor considered

it necessary to retain possession as advanced posts, and he planted there eighty Europeans, with seven hundred sepoys, being rather more than one-third of the whole strength of his garrison.

On the night of the 15th of May, these posts were attacked, and carried after a brisk but ineffectual resistance. The whole of the Europeans stationed in them were taken, and the natives, dispersing, sought safety in any direction rather than in the body of the place. Batteries were soon raised at various points, which kept up a well-directed and incessant fire; while the defenders, who had absurdly wasted their ammunition in the beginning of the siege, soon found themselves unable effectually to reply to it. They held out, however, in the fond expectation that their own fleet, of the success of which they were not ignorant, would, sooner or later, come to their relief. But on the 1st of June, not a sail appearing, and their powder being totally expended, they sent out a flag of capitulation. It was stipulated that the garrison should march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms in the ditch; that they should be kept as prisoners at Pondicherry till exchanged; and that the soldiers should retain their knapsacks, the officers their side-arms and private baggage. M. Lally would not, however, listen to a proposition having reference to a preservation of the works. These he had received directions from the government at home to destroy so soon as they should fall into his hands; and he was not a day in possession ere he levelled them with the earth.

While the siege of Fort St. David was going

on, M. Bussy, after asserting the authority of his nation over numerous refractory chieftains in the northern Circars, found himself involved in a serious quarrel between the Nizam and his two brothers, the object of which was none other than the sovereignty of the Deccan. When he quitted Arungabad, after his last reconciliation, he had been prudent enough to leave behind him a guard of Europeans and disciplined sepoys, for the defence of the Nizam's person; but these, though sufficiently numerous to protect the life of Salla-bat-jing, were incapable of defending his authority against the intrigues of ambitious relatives. By a series of artful manœuvres, which it is not necessary to describe in detail, one of these persons managed to gain possession of the royal signet, while the other obtained the government of the most important fortresses within the bounds of the Nizam's dominions. The Nizam saw, though he knew not how to counteract, the designs of his brothers. He wrote to Bussy, who hastened to his support, and, with singular address, involved these ambitious princes in the ruin which they had destined for their unsuspicious relative. One of them died in a scuffle, brought on by his own people, under a mistaken notion that violence was intended for their master; the other fled, was pursued and taken; and the Nizam, secured in his seat by the ability and courage of Bussy, became more than ever the slave of his wishes. But the influence thus honourably earned led to nothing; for Lally, full of prejudices against all who had served in India prior to his arrival, would not listen for a moment to the admonitions of

those who spoke of any projects except his own as rational or practicable.

M. Lally was no sooner in possession of Fort St. David, than he sent M. D'Estaing, at the head of a strong detachment, to lay siege to Devi-Cotah. The garrison, which consisted of thirty Europeans and six hundred sepoys, evacuated the place on his approach, and retreated, in the utmost trepidation, to Trichinopoly. But nothing further was, for the present, attempted. On the contrary, Lally, surprised at his own success, and suffering much for want of money and stores, marched back to Pondicherry, where a few days were spent in useless rejoicing, and still more useless altercation.

It was the great wish of this sanguine but intemperate commander to crush the English power on the coast, by reducing, without loss of time, the city of Madras. With this view he sent peremptory orders to M. Bussy to abandon Arungabad, and pressed the government, with increasing earnestness from day to day, for those supplies which he needed, but which they were quite unable to afford. All his efforts, however, to raise the funds requisite for this service proved abortive. The public treasury was empty; and the example which he himself set of making good the deficiency from the fortunes of individuals was but imperfectly followed; he was, therefore, reduced to the necessity of postponing his grand design, and of embarking for the present upon another. It was asserted that among all the native princes amenable to the vengeance of the French arms, the king of Tanjore was the richest; and Lally

was, after numerous scruples, persuaded to march his army into the Tanjorine dominions.

It will be recollected, that the crown of Tanjore was not worn by the reigning monarch without an attempt on the part of a rival to deprive him of it. The cause of that rival, indeed, had been once espoused by the English, who were forward in prosecuting his quarrel, but who laid it aside so soon as the reigning monarch thought fit to confirm them in their conquest of Devi-Cotah, and to grant a pension for life to his nephew and competitor. Of the person of this nephew the French obtained possession on the capture of Fort St. David, and they now made of him a convenient instrument for the furtherance of their own designs. They carried him along with them, not, indeed, proclaiming him king, but holding out a threat that they would do so, in the event of their demands being rejected; and meeting with no opposition, they arrived, after a seven days' march, on the 25th of June, at Karical. From Karical they proceeded to Nagore, an opulent but defenceless town, which they plundered; after which they pushed upon Kivloor, famous as the site of one of the most venerated pagodas south of the Nerbudda. Lally was sadly distressed for money. He was without funds to purchase cattle, to hire coolies, or even to provide rice for his sepoys: in an evil hour he listened to the advice of injudicious counsellors, and plundered the temple. Nothing was found of sufficient value to repay the labour of the search; whereas a spirit of hostility was excited, which he never afterwards overcame. But his misfortunes were only begin-

ning. The king of Tanjore, instead of coming to terms, sent to solicit assistance from the English, the Nabob, and the neighbouring Poligars, while he assembled all the force of his principality, and prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. In this instance, as in many others, M. Lally permitted his irritable temper to defeat the designs of his better judgment. After alarming his adversary by shutting him up in his capital, and bringing him to propose terms, the French general broke off on a point of etiquette, of which he was scarcely a competent judge, and was at last compelled to raise the siege, after a breach had been effected, in consequence of the arrival of a force from Trichinopoly, and the appearance of an English fleet at Karical. Yet he was not permitted to withdraw unmolested. A sortie was made on the morning preceding the night in which it was designed to abandon the trenches, by which the French, though they repelled their assailants, suffered considerably.

The French, followed and harassed in their march by the Tanjorines, were compelled to abandon their heavy artillery, and to subsist as they best could, on cocoa-nuts, and other wild fruits growing along the side of the road. After enduring many hardships, they arrived, on the 18th of August, at Karical, where, in perfect agreement with the intelligence conveyed to them, they found the English fleet at anchor. A number of cross accidents had conspired to keep Admiral Pococke in Madras roads, after his unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Fort St. David. The means of refitting were found to be so scanty, that it was the

25th of July ere he could again put to sea, and on the 27th he arrived abreast of Pondicherry, where the French fleet lay at moorings. The latter immediately got under sail; but during the night the squadrons missed each other, upon which the French bore up for Karical. They were followed thither without delay. Nevertheless, the weather proving squally, both sides avoided an action till towards noon on the 2d of August. On that day an obstinate battle took place, which, like the former, ended in favour of the English. The enemy retreated to Pondicherry, with a severe loss in killed and wounded; the British anchored off Karical, to repair their damage in rigging.

The first intelligence which met M. Lally at Karical had reference to the intended withdrawal of the French fleet from the coast. He saw in this the utter overthrow of all his projects; and though he esteemed it imprudent for himself to quit the army on its march, he sent forward M. D'Estaing, his second in command, to remonstrate warmly against the proceeding. Neither the arguments of D'Estaing, however, nor the entreaties of the governor and council, had the smallest weight with Admiral D'Ache. The result of the late engagements had impressed him with so strong a sense of his incapacity to keep the sea against the English, that to all the suggestions both of flattery and reproach he turned a deaf ear; and on the 2d of September, a few days after Lally's return to Pondicherry, he departed for the Mauritius. Great was the indignation of Lally at this proceeding; nevertheless,

he determined not to relax his own exertions; and seeing that the capture of Madras was now rendered next to impossible, he devised another, and, as it was hoped, a scarcely less important enterprise.

A scarcity of money was the great misfortune under which the French at this time laboured. The expedition into Tanjore, instead of mitigating, had increased the evil. It was now resolved to make an attempt upon Arcot, where a treasure was supposed to be deposited. No difficulty was experienced in reducing the place, because the officer left in charge of it by Mohamed Ally proved a traitor; but neither in it, nor in the secondary forts of Trevatore, Trinomalee, Carangoly, and Ternery, were the wished-for supplies obtained. Lally was deeply mortified by this result; yet, with characteristic activity, he prepared to turn next upon Chinglaput, an important post, which covered the whole of the country from which Madras drew the chief of its supplies. He had, however, committed a serious blunder in neglecting to reduce Chinglaput in the first instance, while it lay almost entirely at his mercy. The English were already awake to its danger; strong reinforcements had been poured into it; and the French general, unable to raise a sum sufficient to enter upon a tedious siege, was compelled to abandon his project. He returned with the troops to Pondicherry, where for several weeks he remained, a prey to chagrin and disappointment.

In the meanwhile, Bussy, after accomplishing great things for his country at Arungabad, was, by a peremptory order from head-quarters, re-

called. It was to no purpose that he represented the extreme impolicy of abandoning the Nizam to the mercy of his enemies: Lally treated all his arguments with contempt; and he found himself reduced to the necessity of putting in hazard the fabric which it had taken so much of time and of care to erect. He left the Nizam overwhelmed with grief and apprehension; and carrying along with him a considerable portion of the garrison of Masulipatam, joined M. Lally at Arcot. But though the latter thus contrived to assemble at one point the greatest number of disciplined troops which had yet appeared in India, he felt that, till his pecuniary embarrassments were removed, they could be turned to no useful account; he therefore intreated Bussy, of whose popularity he had received numerous proofs, to negotiate a loan on his private credit, for the public service. Bussy, though yielding to no man in genuine patriotism, proved unable to effect this; and Lally, again thrown back upon his own exhausted resources, ceased, for a time, to indulge in dreams of conquest.

Matters were in this plight, when the authorities of Pondicherry declared that the means of longer supporting so numerous an army in the settlement were wanting A council of war was, in consequence, summoned, in which D'Estaing, with many other officers, pronounced it better to die in the presence of the enemy than to perish of hunger. It was accordingly suggested, that, feeble as their resources were, an attempt upon Madras ought to be hazarded; and Lally, though he entertained but slender hopes of success, readily gave in to

the proposition. Nor did he content himself with barely approving of a resolution which accorded well with the enterprising temperament of his own mind. He came forward with a contribution from his own private fortune, to the amount of thirty-four thousand rupees; and the example being followed by others, a sum, not indeed adequate to the distresses of the moment, but highly creditable to those by whom it was furnished, was supplied.

Thus slenderly provided, for ninety thousand rupees constituted the whole contents of the military chest, the French army began, about the middle of November, its march to Madras. The weather was inclement, for the rains fell in torrents, which seriously retarded the columns; so that the 12th of December had arrived ere they reached their ground, while the provisions, originally scanty, were reduced to something less than would suffice for one week's straitened subsistence. They had met, however, with no opposition by the way, for the English retired leisurely as they approached; yet every information assured them, not only that the garrison was numerous, and in the highest spirits, but that the place was amply supplied with all things necessary for a siege. In spite of all this, Lally entered upon his undertaking with the same spirit which distinguished his attack of Fort St. David. On the 13th, the city was closely reconnoitred. On the 14th, the Black Town was surprised and retained, though not till after a sanguinary action with a body of six hundred English, who endeavoured to recover it; and on the 15th, working parties were in full

operation in the erection of mortar batteries, and the construction of redoubts. All this, according to Lally's own account, was done with no other view than to harass the English by a bombardment; till the arrival of a frigate, loaded with treasure, in Pondicherry roads, caused a total change of plan.

Whatever of merit belongs to the skill and vigour with which this operation was pushed, must be, in strict justice, attributed to M. Lally alone. Destitute of engineers, and poorly supplied with artillery officers, he still contrived to establish batteries with so much judgment, as to keep under, in a great degree, the fire of the besieged, who, commanded by Colonel Lawrence, under the governor, Mr. Pigot, displayed an extraordinary share of courage and perseverance. Both sides, indeed, exerted themselves as if the fate of India depended on the struggle; but in the end a breach was made, and the French general, eager to bring affairs to a crisis, issued orders for the assault. It was at this critical juncture that the discontent which had so long prevailed among his subordinates openly showed itself. The officers refused to lead their men to the assault; that is to say, they advanced so many reasons against it, that Lally became fearful of the event. Still, it is in the highest degree probable that his innate perseverance would have overcome even this last and greatest obstacle, but for the opportune appearance of a British fleet in the offing. It was Admiral Pococke's squadron, which had sailed from Bombay on the 31st of December, along with six of the Company's vessels, and the whole,

carrying six hundred fresh soldiers, made their appearance just as the fate of Madras trembled in the balance.

This event, which occurred on the 16th of February, satisfied Lally that any further attempt to reduce the place would be useless. He began immediately to prepare for a retreat: indeed, the exhausted condition of his magazines, and the emptiness of his military chest, left him no alternative between immediate flight and success the most prompt and decided. Without pausing so much as to disable his battering-guns, or to remove or destroy a considerable store of ammunition, he gave orders to burn the fascines, to blow up a powder-mill which had early fallen into his hands, and to abandon the trenches; and the orders were obeyed with so much alacrity and good-will, that on the morning of the 17th, not a French soldier was to be seen. All were gone; and in ruined works, deserted artillery, broken carriages, and an hospital of sick and wounded left to their fate, abundant proof was found of the precipitation with which the retrogression had been conducted.

In the meanwhile, the face of affairs in the surrounding country, which at one period wore an exceedingly unpromising aspect, began to brighten. The Nabob, who had taken refuge in Madras from the threatened invasion of his capital, escaped during the siege, and made his way by sea, not without some hazard and considerable suffering, to Tanjore. He found Major Galliaud there, strenuously exerting himself to raise cavalry, and embodying a force sufficiently numerous to

harass the enemy, by acting upon their convoys. The king of Tanjore was not, however, easily prevailed upon to ally himself with what he believed to be the weaker side; and it required all the energy and perseverance of Calliaud, assisted by the presence of a body of troops from Trichinopoly, to overcome his scruples. But as the fortunes of the French began to decline, the friendship of the Tanjorine returned; and Calliaud was at length put at the head of a corps, with which he performed valuable service. In like manner, the governor of Chinglaput proved eminently useful in cutting off detachments, and harassing foraging parties. Various active partizans, moreover, took the field at different quarters; more than one fortress was recovered, and more than one chieftain again changed sides. Nevertheless, by far the greater proportion of the province of Arcot was still in possession of the enemy; and as the English were desirous, on many accounts, to recover it, they spared no exertion to equip a force capable of taking the field with effect. They so far succeeded, that an army, consisting of eleven hundred and fifty-six Europeans, seventeen hundred and seventy sepoys, eleven hundred and twenty irregular infantry, furnished by the southern Polygars, and nineteen hundred and fifty-six horse, was brought together; and the whole, though but indifferently supplied with means of transport, advanced to Conjeveram.

They found the French in position at this place, and, in spite of the late discomfiture, far from being dispirited. During two and twenty days the corps faced each other, the English

seeking to draw the enemy out of their lines, the French manœuvring to bring on an attack; till Major Brereton, who, on the resignation of the veteran Lawrence, commanded the English army, at length changed his plan. He suddenly passed the Palar river, and leaving Conjeveram in his rear, pushed upon Wandewash. The stratagem so far succeeded, that the enemy, alarmed for the safety of that important place, broke up their camp; upon which Brereton made a second movement, and returned, with equal celerity and address, to the place whence he had set out. This march was so well conducted, that he came upon Conjeveram by surprise, and took the pagoda by assault, though at a heavy loss; after which the two armies again faced each other till the 28th of May. They then went into cantonments.

From this date up to the end of the rainy season, no movement of any importance took place. The French, more than ever distressed for want of money, were quite incapable of undertaking anything. Indeed Lally's own regiment was in a state of mutiny, and of the privates belonging to other corps few could be trusted. The English again, assured of speedy reinforcements, of which the advanced guard arrived in Madras towards the end of June, were not disposed to risk the advantage already obtained by any rash or premature proceeding. It is true that the little fort of Coverpauke surrendered to a detachment sent to summon it, and that an attempt was made to gain possession of Arcot, which, however, failed; but except in these instances, no effort was hazarded beyond the predatory excursions of a few partizans.

The moment was, however, approaching, when matters were destined to assume a different aspect, and the war was again to rage with violence, both by sea and land.

Early in the spring of 1759, Admiral Pococke had arrived upon the coast of Bombay, but had continued to windward of Pondicherry, principally at Negapatnam, with a view to intercept the French squadron, which was expected from the isles. He was joined here, towards the end of July, by five ships, having the first division of the promised troops on board, which supplied him with such stores and provisions as he chiefly wanted, and continued their voyage to Madras. On the 20th of August he steered for Ceylon, in the confident expectation that he should obtain some intelligence of the enemy; and on the 2d of September his hopes received their accomplishment. M. D'Ache made his appearance round Friars' Hood, with a force which exceeded that of Pococke by three sail of the line, and a hundred and seventy-four guns. Nevertheless, the English admiral instantly formed his line, and the fleets engaged. The contest, which lasted about two hours, was warm and bloody, but, like almost all which took place in those seas, produced no very decisive results; though the English were entitled to claim the honour of a victory, the whole of their adversaries escaped. But the moral effect, even of such a victory, was not without its uses. The French hastened to Pondicherry, landed four hundred Caffrees, and five hundred marines, with a trifling sum in money and jewels; and, after undergoing a few repairs, departed, in despite

of the urgent entreaties of the government, for the islands. Thus was a complete command of the seas secured to the English, whilst the French saw themselves reduced to depend upon their own exertions, not for conquest, but for existence.

Such was the condition of the belligerents, when Colonel Brereton, eager to strike a blow previous to the arrival of a superior officer, put his army in motion for the purpose of surprising Wandewash. It was a measure illustrative rather of the courage than of the military skill of the individual who planned it. Indeed it was undertaken upon very vague information, and in the face of a corps little, if at all, inferior to his own, even in point of numbers. Yet is the failure to be attributed as much to the want of vigour displayed in the attack, as to any other circumstance. Brereton approached his point—not, indeed, unobserved, for the enemy had early obtained intelligence of his design, and provided against it—but in excellent order, and with a force full of enthusiasm. He determined upon a night attack; and he entrusted the command of one of the columns to an officer, who, by some unexplained mistake, disappeared at the very moment when he was most needed. The consequence was, that another column, which had penetrated into the town, and made itself master of several of the main streets, was driven out again with severe loss, and narrowly escaped destruction. This unfortunate affair in no degree diminished the confidence of the English troops, though it cost the lives of two hundred Europeans; for they fought bravely, they were

aware that they had done so, and the loss of the enemy was to the full as serious as their own.

Meanwhile the jealousy which M. Lally had always entertained of Bussy gathered additional strength every day. The latter, startled by the aspect which things had assumed in the Deccan, urged the propriety of renewing, at all risks, the intimacy which had been improvidently broken off between himself and the Soubahdar; and suggested, as the most effectual means of doing so, the wisdom of appointing the Soubahdar's brother, Bassalut-jing, to the nabobship of Arcot. There were two circumstances which rendered this advice particularly distasteful to Lally. In the first place, he never valued, as it deserved, the friendship of Salabat-jing; in the next place, he had already disposed of the dignity in question, having set up, so soon as he obtained possession of the Rajah Saheb, the son of that Chundah Saheb who had been displaced by Mohamed Ally. When Bassalut-jing approached the Carnatic, however, at the head of a numerous army, Lally consented that Bussy should join him, with full powers to conclude even this negotiation, on condition that he would act in alliance with the French. But Bussy had not proceeded a day's march towards Arcot, when he was hastily recalled by the rumour of an event, which threatened the fortunes of the French in India with instant ruin. This was a second mutiny, much more extensive and more formidable than the former. It extended through all the troops cantoned at Wandewash, who deserted their colours, and refused obedience to their officers, but who committed no excesses, nor

evinced any disposition to go over to the enemy. On the contrary, they chose a serjeant-major as commander-in-chief, with certain privates and non-commissioned officers under him, and declared that they would obey no orders except such as emanated from him, till the arrears due to them were paid. Happily for all concerned, the serjeant-major was a prudent man. He persuaded the mutineers to accept what Lally succeeded in procuring—one-half of their dues; and a full pardon being given, with assurances of better treatment for the future, they returned, as if no rupture had ever taken place, to their duty.

This danger having happily subsided, Bussy again set out for the camp of Bassalut-jing, where information of the real state of French affairs had preceded him, and where, as a necessary consequence, his influence had much declined. He found the prince well disposed to march upon Arcot, provided Bussy, besides undertaking to secure his recognition by the government of Pondicherry, would advance four lacs of rupees to defray immediate expenses; but when to the former demand some obstacles were started, and a compliance with the latter was peremptorily refused, the negotiation was at once broken off. Bussy saw that no benefit could accrue from any attempt to renew it; he therefore returned to head-quarters, followed by a body of four hundred excellent horse, whom he had found means, in spite of great poverty, to attach to his personal service.

On the 27th of October, Colonel Coote, with the last division of the expected reinforcement, arrived at Madras, and took the command of the

army. On the 21st of November head-quarters were fixed at Conjeveram, where the plan of the campaign was arranged. The enemy being at this time scattered and divided, one portion at Seringham, whither it had marched to procure supplies, and another near Arcot, it was determined to hazard a second attempt upon Wandewash, and, the better to disguise the design, a movement was made as if Arcot itself was about to be threatened. The most perfect success attended the operation. Colonel Brereton, who led the attacking force, besides gaining possession of Trevatore, took the pettah of Wandewash on the 27th, and Coote joining him soon after with the main body from Arcot, batteries were erected against the castle. After a few hours' firing, a breach was made, which the English prepared to storm, but the garrison calling out for quarter, the assault was suspended, and on the 30th this important fortress again changed masters.

Coote lost no time in forming the siege of Carangoly, another important fortress, which is situated thirty-five miles west-south-west from Wandewash, twelve to the south-west of Chungleput, and eighteen from Sadrass and the sea. He entered the pettah, or town, on the 4th of December, and on the 6th began to fire from a battery of two eighteen-pounders. During three days the cannonade was briskly continued, two additional guns, with a howitzer, being brought to bear; and on the 10th, when his shot was well nigh expended, he enjoyed the satisfaction of beholding a flag of truce hung out. It was not a time to fall off on any point of useless form, so the garrison were

admitted to the terms which their commander proposed; after which the British prepared to attack Arcot. But Lally had now taken the alarm, and Bussy with his cavalry rendering the open country a desert, it was found impracticable, at least for the present, to carry the project into execution.

We have said that when Colonel Coote arrived to take the command of the British army, he found the French so scattered as to be incapable of seriously interrupting him in the prosecution of his designs. The cause of this division of strength was the same which, ever since the appearance of Lally on the stage, had led to so many blunders and miscarriages. Want of funds from which to pay his troops, and want of temper and discretion to assist him in increasing these funds, induced that headstrong chief, contrary to the advice of his council, to undertake an expedition against the only province in the Carnatic which was not devastated and laid waste. It was with the hope of collecting the revenue from the districts around Trichinopoly, that a corps of nine hundred Europeans, one thousand Sepoys, two hundred irregular horse, and ten pieces of cannon, was detached, under M. Crillon, to Seringham; while the remainder of the army, with the exception of a moveable column of eight hundred men, destined to act from Arcot whenever it might be needed, was broken up into garrisons for the defence of the most important of the fortresses.

Crillon, advancing rapidly, and well disguising his design, reached the banks of the Coleroon ere his approach was suspected. A detachment was sent out from Trichinopoly to observe him, which cut to

pieces his advanced-guard, and itself narrowly escaped destruction at the hands of the main body. He passed the river without difficulty, sat down before the large pagoda in the island, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it by assault. To the disgrace of those concerned, of whom Crillon himself was not one, the sto'ming party gave no quarter to the defendants, putting to death without mercy even such as threw down their arms, till out of three companies of sepoys scarce ten men survived. This affair took place on the 21st of November, the very day when Colonel Coote began to move; but except by providing partially for the wants of those engaged, it was productive of no beneficial results. Before Crillon could push his conquests farther, or collect any portion of the revenue so much needed, he was hastily recalled, for the purpose of enabling Lally to check the progress of Coote, and protect the rest of his falling fortresses.

Coote returned from Carangoly to Wandewash, whence, on the 13th of December, he proceeded to Passantanguel, a town six miles in advance of Trevalore, on the Arcot road, and a convenient position for intercepting the enemy's divisions, as they moved one towards another. On the 16th, he approached nearer to Arcot, to a place called Mullawady, which he reached just as M. Bussy, with his own corps and a cloud of Mahrattas, came in. The British were miserably deficient in cavalry, of which the European portion fell short of one hundred, while the Nabob's horse, undisciplined and destitute of courage, were in nothing to be relied upon. They could not, therefore, prevent Bussy from sweeping the entire

face of the country, and spreading havoc and dismay up to the bound-hedge of Madras itself. This alone cramped Coote exceedingly in his movements, while severe rains setting in, his men began to sicken, and he despaired of effecting anything further. He therefore broke up his camp for the present, and filing off in the direction of Coverepank, put the whole army into cantonments.

The breathing space thus obtained was employed by M. Lally in bringing his scattered parties together; so that by the 8th of January, 1760, he was in a condition to take the field, with an army more numerous than he had yet commanded. Bussy earnestly entreated him to confine his operations to straitening the English, by means of his superior cavalry, but Lally, who felt that his military reputation had suffered some tarnish, was eager to wipe out the stain. He therefore manœuvred with great skill to deceive the enemy, who, like himself, had quitted their quarters on the return of dry weather; and having effectually blinded them, pushed with great rapidity upon Conjeveram. Of the town he obtained immediate possession, and he plundered it completely, driving off, among other valuable effects, upwards of two thousand cattle; but the fortified pagoda he abstained from attacking, because it was impregnable to a coup-de-main, and he had far outstripped his cannon. He then defiled upon Trevalore, where he broke up his force, leaving the larger division under Bussy to watch the English army, while he himself, with a chosen band, composed entirely of Europeans and Mahrattas, marched against Wandewash.

It had not escaped the suspicions of Colonel Coote, that, sooner or later, an attempt would be made to recover this important fortress. While, therefore, he put the commandant fully on his guard, he himself stood at all moments prepared to march to his relief; and intelligence had no sooner reached him that things had fallen out as he expected than he crossed the Paliar, and followed Lally. The latter had, in the meanwhile, formed the siege of Wandewash. The pettah he took by escalade, after a stout resistance, and his batteries were preparing to open, when he received a letter from Bussy, which warned him of the approach of the English. At first his personal antipathy towards the writer induced him to doubt the truth of the intelligence, but eventually he saw matters in their just light, and instructed Bussy to join him. Bussy obeyed, and, after again vainly intreating him to avoid a battle, made ready to give his best exertions towards securing a victory.

Different accounts are given of the relative strength of the two armies, which now approached one another. According to the statement of Mr. Orme, the French consisted of three hundred European cavalry, two thousand two hundred and fifty European infantry, one thousand three hundred sepoys, and three thousand Mahrattas, while the English mustered eighty Europeans and one thousand two hundred and fifty native horse, one thousand nine hundred European infantry, and two thousand one hundred sepoys. The statement of M. Lally makes his army considerably weaker; but whichever be the real state of the case, in mere numbers there seems to have been no great dispa-

rity between them. With respect to the order in which the hostile lines were brought into action no doubt can exist; Lally was everywhere out-generalled and thwarted.

On the 21st of January, Coote arrived at Tirimbourg, a village about seven miles distant from Wandewash. He passed the night there, and the following morning at sunrise began his march, himself pressing forward to reconnoitre with an advanced guard of two hundred native cavalry and two companies of sepoys. He found the enemy encamped at the base of the mountain upon which Wandewash stands, with paddy fields separating one of their lines from another, and their position covered, both on the flanks and partly in front, by empty tanks. They had a large train of artillery mounted, some of them in an entrenchment, while the Mahrattas hung like a cloud upon the hill side. Coote had scarcely time to observe all this, when the Mahrattas, with the European cavalry, came out to oppose him, and a warm skirmish began. The sepoys did their duty, but the odds were tremendously against them, till there arrived five additional companies, with a couple of field-pieces, to their support, the last of which no sooner began to fire than the enemy broke in confusion, and quitted the field. Coote having concluded his reconnoissance, leisurely withdrew, that he might form the main body of his army into order of battle.

The dispositions which he adopted were unquestionably as judicious as the circumstances in which he was placed would allow. He drew up in three lines; the first extended considerably

beyond the flank of the enemy's position, and manœuvred so as at once to turn their entrenchments, and communicate at pleasure with the garrison of Wandewash; the second, considerably weaker than the first, was composed entirely of men on whom he could depend, while his cavalry, of which the European squadron alone were trustworthy, formed the reserve. In this order he advanced, while Lally, who seemed nowise disposed to be forced into action, found himself under the necessity either of fighting on ground chosen by his opponent, or raising the siege. He preferred the former course; but at the very commencement of the battle his cavalry, which he conducted in person, was thrown into disorder by a few cannon-shot, and quitted the field. Lally hastened to the infantry, and led them on with great gallantry. Some of them fought well, particularly the regiment of Lorrain, which charged in column, and broke through the battalion opposed to it. But the latter, which received the charge in line, instantly wrapped round the flanks of the assailants, and by a few discharges destroyed them. The utmost confusion now fell upon other parts of the French line. The entrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet, the empty water-courses were forced, and Bussy, gallantly endeavouring to recover the former, was made prisoner. It was to no purpose that Lally exerted himself manfully to restore the day; an unaccountable panic had seized his troops, and they fled in all directions.

The French lost in this action upwards of six hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the loss of the English amounted to one hundred

and ninety, and the disproportion would have been much greater, had not the French cavalry recovered themselves, and ably protected the infantry in their retreat. Twenty-four pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors, as well as eleven tumbrils of ammunition, with tents, stores, and baggage of every description, while a still greater quantity was burned by the enemy previous to their quitting the lines. With respect to Lally, he fell back, first upon Chittapet, whence, on the following day, he marched to Gingee; nor did he halt till he had reached Valdore, a position well adapted at once to cover Pondicherry and to give protection to the districts from which that place drew its principal supplies.

Had Coote been aware of the destitute condition of the Presidency, he would have doubtless marched from Wandewash and assailed it at once; as it was, he directed his efforts, in the first instance, against places of lesser note. On the day after the battle he approached Arcot, taking Chittapet, by surrender, in his progress; and on the 9th, when two breaches were effected, which it would have been the height of rashness to storm, the place capitulated. Timery was next invested and taken; Devicotah fell, and Trincomalee, Permacoil and Alamparva, one after another, shared the same fate. Karical, with the exception of Pondicherry, was now the only fortified station on the coast of which the enemy retained the command, and that, in despite of an attempt to relieve it, surrendered on the 5th of April; then followed, on the 15th, the capture of Valdore, which again was succeeded, on the 20th, by that of Chillambrum; while Cud-

dalore, which opened its gates much about the same time, was, in spite of various efforts to recover it, retained.

By the 1st of May, the possessions of the French in the Carnatic were confined to the fortresses of Gingee and Theagur, the town of Pondicherry, and the territory immediately dependent upon it. The utmost dissension, moreover, prevailed in their councils, and the utmost despondency in their ranks, for the mutual jealousy which had long subsisted between Lally and the civil authorities was increased to hatred, and any hope of receiving succours from Europe ceased to be entertained. The English, on the other hand, elated by their past successes, were still further cheered by the arrival of six sail of the line at Madras, an event which was shortly followed by the appearance of a second squadron, on board of which six hundred troops were embarked. In this emergency Lally opened a negotiation with Hyder, the general-in-chief of the Mysore armies, and one of the most remarkable characters of his age. He offered to put him in immediate possession of Theagur, provided Hyder would support him with three thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, and he undertook to pay to the auxiliary force a monthly subsidy of one hundred thousand rupees. To these terms the Mysorean readily assented, and it was further stipulated that, in the event of success attending their endeavours, other and far more valuable concessions would be made.

Hyder proved so far true to his word, that he dispatched the promised reinforcement, with a supply of cattle and grain for the use of the French troops.

The movement, however, was not unobserved by Colonel Coote, who sent out a detachment, chiefly of sepoys, to intercept the convoy; but the state of discipline which existed in the Mysore armies had been misunderstood, and the English sustained a defeat. Nevertheless the event proved very little serviceable to the allies. The Mysoreans were scarcely arrived in camp, ere intelligence reached them that a revolution had occurred in Mysore, which threatened the safety of their chief; and hence, after a sojourn of four weeks, during which they performed no service of importance, they abruptly quitted the camp.

In the meanwhile Lally, after sustaining several skirmishes, and making repeated attempts to secure the most important of his outposts, fell gradually back upon Pondicherry, near the bound-hedge of which he at length took up a position. With indefatigable industry he had exerted himself to supply the city with stores and provisions; and he had collected a sufficiency of both to enable it to withstand a siege of some months. The attitude which he assumed was, likewise, so commanding, that the English made their approaches with extreme caution, whilst three small forts, Perumbe and Villanore in front, and Ariancopang on his flank, of which he still retained possession, so effectually cramped their movements, that it was not till late in the season that the investment can be said to have been complete. Villanore, however, being given up on the 16th of July, and the desertion of the Mysoreans following soon after, affairs began by degrees to assume a desperate

aspect. Coote closed in upon the bound-hedge*, and having determined to reduce Ariancopang, which commanded that barrier, he requested Admiral Stevens, who lay at anchor in the roadstead, to assist him with the marines of the fleet. The marines were promptly given; but Major Monson, the second in command, remonstrating strongly against the measure, it was abandoned. The army accordingly entrenched itself, and kept as near to the enemy's outworks as a regard to the safety of the men would allow.

Driven up, as it were, into a corner, and utterly hopeless of relief, Lally resolved to try once more the fortune of battle, and arranged, with admirable boldness, the plan of a night attack, which deserved better success than attended it. He kept his secret so well that, though the city abounded with spies, not a rumour of the intended operation reached the British army till they found themselves attacked on either flank of their lines, and the enemy in possession of one of their most important redoubts. Had not a third column, which was directed to act simultaneously with these two, and which had penetrated unobserved to the rear of the British encampment, contrived, by some extraordinary blunder, to lose its way, it is difficult to say how the action might have terminated. As it was, the troops actually engaged, not hearing

* Pondicherry, like other Indian cities, was covered by a strong hedge of aloes and prickly shrubs, which extended in a semicircle from the river Ariancopang to the sea. It was in advance of the ditch generally about fifteen hundred yards.

the fire of their comrades, and being opposed by numbers very superior to their own, gradually lost their confidence. They were in consequence beaten back with great slaughter, and the condition of the city, instead of being bettered, became more desperate than ever.

There had arrived at Madras, during this interval, certain ships from England which brought accounts of his promotion to Major Monson, with instructions to Colonel Coote to proceed, as soon as possible, to take the command of the army in Bengal. Colonel Monson was not unworthy of the honours bestowed upon him, for he was a brave officer, and far from destitute of talent, but nothing could have occurred more inopportunely for the public interests than the supercession, at such a moment, of Colonel Coote. The Madras Presidency remonstrated warmly against it, nevertheless Coote possessed too much generosity to act upon the protest, and he displayed this disposition still further by voluntarily leaving in camp his own regiment, though directed by the home authorities to transport it also to Bengal. He lost no time, however, in resigning the command to Monson, who proceeded to carry into execution a plan which he had some time meditated, and by means of which he hoped to drive the enemy from the hedge, as well as from several redoubts and batteries which supported it. The assault was made in the night. It succeeded, in spite of many blunders, arising from the impediments which usually come in the way of night attacks, and it compelled the enemy, after blowing up fort Ariancopang, to take post upon

the glacis. But the victory cost the assailants dear, for, independently of one hundred and fifteen Europeans of inferior rank, Monson himself was disabled by a shot which broke both bones of his leg. Upon this Coote, who remained still in Madras, was earnestly solicited, both by Monson and the local authorities, to resume his station at the head of the troops, and as the command had devolved on an individual no way qualified to exercise it, he yielded without reluctance to their solicitations. On the 20th of September he returned to the camp, where he was welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm by his soldiers.

Fresh spirit was now given to the blockading army, which proceeded without loss of time to push its advances more and more briskly. There stood on the north flank of the hedge a work called the Madras redoubt, and a village, within which the French were accustomed to bleach their clothes. The enemy, fearful that they might afford shelter to the besiegers, sent out a party to destroy them, but Coote, anticipating the design, surprised this party with his personal escort, carried the redoubt, and established there a post of great importance. An effort was made the same night to recover it; it failed, but of the village the French continued to keep possession. Nevertheless they were eventually reduced to the necessity of abandoning this also, and to confine themselves almost entirely to the town.

It is not necessary to describe in detail the progress of a siege which lasted through the whole of the rainy season, and furnished numerous oppor-

tunities to both commanders for displaying the activity and enterprize that belonged to them. Lally retaining the command of the Ariancopang, erected in the midst of it a redoubt, under cover of which he still kept up some communication with the open country. Coote, on the other hand, narrowly watched his proceedings, and cut off by far the larger portion of the petty convoys which, from time to time, endeavoured to carry supplies into the place. Nor was Admiral Stevens idle. Keeping his station off Cuddalore, he prevented all ingress from the sea to the capital; and the more effectually to cripple the garrison, he caused the boats of his fleet to cut out two frigates, which lay at anchor under the guns of a battery. The consequence was, that famine began by degrees to do its work; all the black inhabitants were expelled, the troops were put upon half rations, and every man that could be spared from the actual defence of the works was sent out to act with a flying force, which still kept the field about Theagur.

Thus passed the rainy season, at the close of which Coote made ready to convert the blockade into a siege. Ample stores were provided from Madras, batteries were erected in convenient spots, and the guns were about to be run in, when, on the 30th of December, a hurricane came on, which produced awful havoc both at sea and on shore. Three of the English ships foundered, by which upwards of eleven hundred lives were lost; the remainder, suffering more or less damage, were driven from their anchorage; while the tents were stripped to ribbons, the works blown down, and

the whole army thrown into extreme confusion. It was fortunate that at such a juncture the inundation proved so great as to prevent the enemy from taking any advantage of the calamity. With infinite labour, therefore, the batteries were reconstructed, and approaches being dug, and parallels drawn, the guns fired with much effect in breach. Such was the state of things when, on the 14th of January, a deputation came out from the place to propose a capitulation. It was high time that some such step should be taken, for there remained not in store provisions enough for two days' consumption; nevertheless the French, with their habitual effrontery, strove to obtain terms as favourable as if the siege were only now about to commence. But Colonel Coote was not to be duped by their sophistry: he insisted upon an unconditional surrender, and the enemy, seeing that he could not be moved, submitted.

The prisoners, which amounted in all to upwards of two thousand, were no sooner secured, and the English flag hoisted, under a salute of a thousand guns, than Coote hastened to complete his task by the capture of the last of the strongholds which remained in the Carnatic. Theagur and Gingee were both attacked, and both surrendered, after a feeble resistance; and Mahe, with its dependencies, having been reduced some weeks previously, the French empire on the continent of India ceased to exist. Thus ended a war which, at its commencement, promised to lead to widely different results. It inflamed to the highest pitch the already-irritated feelings of the French company, who, as a matter of course, cast the whole blame of failure

upon Lally; whilst a feeble and corrupt government readily espoused the cause of numbers against a single brave man, who had nothing to urge in his own defence except the truth. Lally returned home to suffer a fate which stamps with indelible disgrace the character of his judges. He was cast into prison, tried, condemned, and executed with an indecent haste, of which it may with truth be asserted that none except the Parisians could be guilty.

With respect, again, to the English, they were so much astonished at their own success, that they seemed for a while incapable of determining to what use it ought to be turned. Colonel Coote, with the officers of the king's troops, claimed Pondicherry for the crown, Mr. Pigot, the governor of Madras, asserted that the Company alone were entitled to it; and the dispute ran at one moment so high, that serious consequences were to be apprehended. But Mr. Pigot persisting in his demands, and refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, Colonel Coote, with his council of officers, judged it prudent to give way. After solemnly protesting against the measure, he yielded up the fortress, which was immediately taken possession of in the names of the Directors, and the works, in obedience to instructions long ago received from home, were levelled with the earth.

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of Bengal—Meer Jaffier's intrigues—Expedition to the Northern Circars—Capture of Masulipatam—Bengal invaded by the Prince (afterwards Shah Alum)—The Dutch defeated near Calcutta—Clive returns home—Second invasion of Shah Alum—His attempt to surprise Moorshedabad—Repulsed from Patna—Death of Jaffier's son, Meerum.

While these important operations were in progress in the southern provinces of India, the affairs of Bengal were conducted with a degree of management and skill which alone could have carried them triumphantly through the difficulties with which they were beset. Meer Jaffier, who, like other Indian usurpers, had promised much more than he found it either convenient or practicable to perform, soon began, after the usage of his nation, to aim at an infraction of the treaty. He tried the measure, which is for the most part irresistible in the east,—he offered private bribes, as a means of defeating public arrangements; but finding that, in this instance, his confederates were proof against his wiles, he began to meditate some convenient method of obtaining a deliverance from their alliance. Not daring to break with the English at once, he directed his first efforts against certain native functionaries, who had taken

a prominent part in the late revolution; with the view of depriving them of their offices and fortunes, and so acquitting himself of some part of the obligations under which he laboured. These were Dooloob Ram, the Dewan, or principal officer of finance; Ramramsing, the governor of Bednapore, and brother to the Rajah of that district; and Ramnorain, the viceroy of Berar, a man of great influence, and very considerable talent. It is worthy of remark, that the whole of these persons were Hindoos by religion and lineage. They had been brought into public life by Allaverdi Khan, who found the patient and faithful worshippers of Brahma infinitely preferable, as public servants, to the turbulent followers of the Prophet, and who, greatly to the annoyance of the professors of the true faith, took every opportunity of advancing them to high stations.

It was not to the interest of the Company or their servants that these Hindoos should be crushed, and Clive judiciously interfered to avert the catastrophe. How this was done, it would far exceed the limits of this work to explain; but we may state, that it needed all Clive's temper and all his skill in controlling the passions of others, to preserve for a season the appearance of friendship where none really existed. Between Ramramsing and the Soubahdar a formal reconciliation took place; Dooloob Ram was likewise restored to favour; and though Berar was entered with a numerous army, Clive leading a British contingent along with it, good care was taken that no act of positive hostility should be committed. Nor was this able politician satisfied with keeping

in places of power those whom he knew to be well disposed to the interests of his country. He extorted from the Soubahdar a lease, at the highest ostensible rent which had ever been paid, of the districts on the bank of the Ganges, near Patna, where saltpetre was manufactured; and though the Dutch remonstrated against this arrangement, he nevertheless maintained sufficient influence over Meer Jaffier to cause their protest to be treated with neglect.

These matters were transacted during the autumn and winter of 1757, and on the 15th of May, 1758, Clive returned to Moorshedabad. He received the same day information of the investment of Fort St. David's, with accounts of the first naval action fought on the Coromandel coast; and after publicly giving out that the latter had ended decisively against the French, he departed, on the 24th, for Calcutta. The intelligence which met him here was not so much to his mind. By what motives actuated it is hard, in these times, to say, but the Directors had sent out a commission, which appointed ten individuals to be members of council, and nominated four, among whom Clive was not enumerated, to fill the office of governor in rotation. No arrangement could be less adapted to the state of the country. Under any circumstances, the appointment of four rivals in authority, each of whom was to enjoy power during a few months in rotation, would have been ridiculous, if not mischievous; as the province of Bengal was situated, the whole plan demonstrated only the ignorance or excessive shortsightedness of those with whom it originated. To the honour of the

Company's local representatives be it recorded, that they beheld the matter in its true light. The persons named as first governors declined the charge, and with one voice called upon Clive to take among them the situation to which his eminent services had entitled him. Clive did not refuse the office: he became sole president on the instant, and it was afterwards found that, in so doing, he had only anticipated fresh instructions, drawn up subsequently to the arrival in London of the report of his successes at Plassey.

These points were scarcely settled, and another of Meer Jaffier's plots defeated, when intelligence came in that Fort St. David's had fallen, that a second naval action had been fought between Admirals Pococke and D'Ache, and that the French army were in march to Tanjore. The despatch communicated at the same time the apprehensions of government that Madras itself would be attacked, and urged Clive to return, with a large portion of the army, for its defence. Clive was absolute master in Bengal, whereas in the Carnatic he must have acted in obedience to the instructions of others; he therefore paid no heed to the recall in his own person, nor permitted a man to pass from under his authority. But he was not regardless of the state of the Presidency. An opening presented itself for effecting a diversion of which he hastened to take advantage, and the most brilliant success attended the expedition.

It has been stated that M. Bussy, after extricating himself from his difficulties at Hyderabad, marched into the Northern Circars, for the purpose of reducing to order certain turbulent chiefs and renters.

Among others against whom his arms were turned, was Vizeramrauze, Rajah of the provinces of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole, who defending himself with singular obstinacy, was slain, with the greater number of his followers. Bussy appointed one Anumderauze-Gauzepetty to succeed Vizeramrauze. He annexed, however, certain conditions to this dignity, to which Anumderauze never cordially subscribed, and hence the departure of Bussy to support Salabat-jing against his relatives served as a signal of revolt to the new Rajah. He marched from Vizianajarum, his chief residence, attacked and took from the French Vizagapatam, and sent off messengers to Madras with an offer to surrender his new acquisition to the English, provided they would aid him with a body of troops in the reduction of the Circars. But the authorities at Madras were too much alarmed at the dangers which threatened themselves to comply with the wishes of Anumderauze. He accordingly made the same proposal to Clive, who saw in the arrangement numerous advantages which it would be highly improper to neglect. In defiance of the opinion of his council, who, to a man, pronounced against the measure, Clive directed an armament to be prepared, which, after considerable delay, set sail towards the end of September, under the orders of Colonel Forde.

Colonel Forde landed at Vizagapatam on the 20th of October, with five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoys, and one hundred lascars; his train of artillery consisted of six field-pieces, six heavy guns, one howitzer, and an eight inch mortar. He formed an immediate junction with the troops of

Anumderauze, but the customary sources of disunion, disputes as to the payment of the army, were not slow in producing their customary effects. After much delay, however, and repeated altercations, a treaty was at last concluded, by which the Rajah pledged himself to furnish fifty thousand rupees monthly, for the maintenance of the private soldiers, and six thousand for that of the officers, on condition that the plunder acquired in the campaign should be equally divided, and that all the conquered country, with the exception of the seaports and towns at the mouths of rivers, should be delivered up to him.

In the meanwhile M. Conflans, the officer left by Bussy in charge of the Northern Circars, had concentrated his army in the vicinity of Rajahmundrum. It consisted of five hundred Europeans, five hundred horse, six thousand sepoys, and a multitude of irregulars, the whole being supported by a train of artillery, cumbrous both from its weight and quantity. On the 3d of December Colonel Forde began his march, and on the 6th encamped at the village of Chumbole, about six miles from the French position. Some delay took place in consequence of the respect with which the hostile commanders viewed each other; but on the 9th both armies quitted their lines, each in profound ignorance of the designs of its adversaries. It was the intention of Colonel Forde to turn the enemy's flank, and to throw himself between them and the town; M. Conflans, on the other hand, having been informed by a deserter of a route by which he could approach the English encampment unobserved, was hastening to avail himself of the

advantage. The consequence was, that the columns met and engaged, on ground with which they were both comparatively unacquainted, and before any plan of action had been drawn up on either side. It was a well-contested affair, but ended decidedly in favour of the English, who were very judiciously led on by Colonel Forde, and who enjoyed the undivided honour of the victory, the Rajah with his followers having carefully kept out of fire.

M. Conflans retreated to Rajahmundrum, but being hotly pursued, evacuated it on the following day, and took refuge in Masulipatam. It was by far the strongest and most important station belonging to the French in this part of India, and as the remains of Conflan's army composed a garrison at least as numerous as the force under Forde, no apprehensions were entertained as to its safety. But Conflans did not confine himself to mere defensive operations. He dispatched messengers to Salabat-jing, intreating him to come to his assistance; he made a report of his danger to the government of Pondicherry, and having told off a body of the best of his own troops, he sent them abroad to act upon the English convoys, and harass their rear. Forde was not unaware of these proceedings, nor was he long kept in ignorance both of the advance of Salabat-jing and the equipment of a reinforcement at Pondicherry; nevertheless he pressed on to the attack of Masulipatam, before which, on the 6th of March, he sat down.

Masulipatam consisted at this time, of a town and a fort, the one distant from the other rather more than a cannon-shot. The town was open, and on

the approach of the English, Conflans, who had previously kept the main body of his army there, withdrew into the castle. The castle, again, consisted of four bastions, with curtains, and a ditch, but was unprovided either with outworks or a glacis. Under these circumstances, Forde considered it unnecessary to open trenches, or make his approaches with the regularity usual in sieges. He contented himself with throwing up batteries, which commanded the three principal bastions, and he fired so smartly that, in due time, the walls began to crumble. But Forde's was a situation of no ordinary hazard. Every day brought intelligence of the gradual approach of the Nizam; his ally Anumderauze threatened to desert him; even his own troops were disposed to mutiny for want of pay, and the arrival of reinforcements from Pondicherry might hourly be expected. Such was the nature of his prospects, when, on the 6th of April, the officer commanding the artillery informed him that there remained not ammunition enough to support the fire two days longer. Forde saw that he must either attempt the reduction of the place at once, or raise the siege and retreat, while the means of doing so remained. He determined upon the former proceeding, and though the breaches were far from convenient, he made preparations to storm.

One flank of the fort of Masulipatam was covered by a morass, and the ditch was full of water, which, however, at ebb tide, measured only three feet in depth. Having sounded the morass with a party of sepoys, and found it passable, Forde distributed his little army into three divisions, two of which

he instructed to attack at opposite sides, while the third should make a feint, in order to distract the attention of the garrison. A little before midnight the troops moved to their ground. As no suspicion was entertained within the works, the attacking parties gained the palisade of the ditch ere they were discovered, where a heavy fire opened upon them, beneath which numbers fell. They pressed on, however, without check or faulter, gained the ramparts in spite of all opposition, and, wheeling to the right and left, carried bastion after bastion with the utmost impetuosity. M. Conflans was confounded by the boldness of the attempt. The sound of firing, too, was heard in so many quarters at the same time, that he knew not from which to apprehend danger, he therefore surrendered at discretion just before dawn began to appear. This was one of the most gallant and successful exploits performed during the war, for, on mustering the prisoners, it was found that they considerably exceeded, both in Europeans and disciplined sepoys, the number of those to whom they had submitted.

Masulipatam fell at a critical moment, for within a week after the British flag had been hoisted, two ships arrived in the roads with three hundred men from Pondicherry. It was announced, at the same time, that Salabat-jing, with his army, was arrived within fifteen miles of the place, and a horde of Mahrattas made their appearance soon after, with the design of facilitating the disembarkation, by occupying the sea-shore. But M. Maracin, who commanded the force on board, was not willing to commit himself, now that Masulipatam had fallen.

He made no attempt, therefore, to land, but departed, after sustaining a skirmish with an English sloop on the coast, and left the Nizam to pursue such plans as he should consider most conducive to his own interests.

A very remarkable change had, in the meanwhile, occurred in the feelings and views of this potentate. His brothers were no sooner freed from the restraint imposed upon them by Bussy's presence, than they entered into fresh schemes against his authority. Nizam Ally, the younger of the two, advancing at the head of a strong army, excited, and not without reason, his liveliest apprehensions. No reliance could now be placed upon his ancient allies the French, of the declining state of whose affairs every hour brought fresh proof, and Salabat-jing was at once too indolent and too timid to trust for safety to his own exertions. He was therefore well pleased when Colonel Forde, aware of the predicament in which he stood, proposed to settle their differences by negotiation. A treaty was soon drawn up, which consisted of four articles, all of them highly favourable to the English. By these the Nizam made over to his new friends a territory extending eighty miles along the sea and twenty miles inland, which, besides including Masulipatam, Nizamapatam, and other important stations, produced an annual revenue of four hundred thousand rupees. He pledged himself moreover to remove the French troops within fifteen days beyond the Krishna, never again to employ any Frenchmen in his service, and to grant a perfect indemnity to Anumderauze, for any irregularities of which he might have recently been,

guilty. Nevertheless the friends parted in mutual disgust concerning points altogether distinct from those noticed in the treaty. The English refused to accompany the Soubahdar in an expedition against Nizam Ally, and were not, in their turn, permitted to destroy the French army of observation, which attached itself to Bassaulut-jing, passed the Krishna, and marched away uninjured to the southward.

While these operations were going on in the Circars, Clive was supporting his influence with Meer Jaffier, in spite of the earnest endeavours of that prince to shake off the yoke, and in defiance of the authority of the Mogul himself. It was stated in another place*, that when Alumgeer the Second became a mere tool in the hands of his minister, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, the latter strove, though without effect, to draw the prince Alee Gohur likewise within the toils. Alee Gohur escaped to Nujeedad Dowla the Rohilla, from whom, during eight months, he received an asylum, and he was subsequently taken under the protection of Mohamed Khoolee Khan, Soubahdar of Allahabad. The distracted condition of Bengal, with the well-known unpopularity of Meer Jaffier, induced the prince to meditate an expedition into that province, and the project was warmly supported, not only by his host, but by Shujah ad Dowla, Nabob of Oude, and one of the most powerful chiefs in Hindostan. Many of the zemindars, both of Bengal and Bahar, likewise promised their support, and the prince having obtained from his

* See Vol. I. p. 277.

father a formal commission to act as Soubahdar over the territories usurped by Jaffier, began his march eastward, for the purpose of asserting the imperial authority.

Had the supporters of Alee Gohur been true to him and to one another, it seems in the highest degree improbable that either Jaffier or the English, weakened as the latter were by the absence of Forde's detachment, could have offered to their progress any effectual opposition; but this was not the case. The Nabob of Oude had favoured the projected enterprise only that he might remove Mohamed Khoolee Khan from Alahabad; and he no sooner heard that the imperial army was occupied in the siege of Patna, than he hastened to seize it. In the mean while Rajah Ramnorain, the deputy-governor of Patna, equally disinclined to break with the English, and to resist the son of his superior, amused both parties with hollow negotiations, while Jaffier, throwing himself absolutely into the arms of Clive, intreated him to take the field. Clive was too well aware of the real weakness of the Mogul to permit the terror of a name to affect his counsels. He collected as many troops as could be spared from the defence of the settlements, hastened to Moorshedabad, and, joining Jaffier, marched with rapid strides upon Patna. But there was no necessity, on the present occasion, to fire a shot. The rumour of Shujah ad Dowla's treachery had already reached the imperial lines, where it caused a total change of purpose, for no entreaties, on the part of Alee Gohur, could prevail upon Mohamed Khoolee Khan to remain one instant longer under his orders. Though

there was a practicable breach in the rampart of Patna, the Soubahdar hastily broke up his encampment; and marched home to recover his capital, and take vengeance on the traitor who had wrested it from him. It would have been an act of insanity in the prince to linger behind; nevertheless, as his real weakness was not known, he demanded and obtained from Clive a sum of money as the price of a retrogression which was, in fact, indispensable.

The gratitude of Meer Jaffier on the present occasion knew no bounds. He promoted Clive to the rank of an omrah, bestowed upon him in jaghire the revenues of the lands around Calcutta, for which the Company, in its character of zemindar, paid tribute, and of which the rental amounted to about thirty thousand pounds per annum; and, laying aside the jealousy which had hitherto oppressed him, became, at least for a season, the sincere friend of the English. It was well that the case was so, for Clive had been but a short time returned to Calcutta, where Forde with his detached corps joined him, when a new danger, and from a quarter where danger had not been heretofore apprehended, arose.

Though there was peace between England and Holland, the Dutch had not beheld without envy the rapid progress made by their ancient rivals towards the establishment of an extensive Indian empire. They had omitted no favourable opportunity of indulging the passion, by rendering secret assistance to the French, and now that the tide was set in violently against their wishes, they seemed disposed to act with still greater boldness.

A force was prepared at Batavia, to the amount of eight hundred Europeans and seven hundred Malay troops. These were put on board seven armed vessels, which entered the Hoogley, without any cause having been assigned for the movement, and though Clive obtained an order from the Soubahdar that they should instantly quit the coast, no attention whatever was paid to it. The troops, on the contrary, were landed, with cannon, ammunition, and stores of every description, while the ships cast anchor, so as to command the navigation of the river within a few miles of Calcutta.

Clive was somewhat awkwardly circumstanced by these proceedings, and he felt that he was so, for there was no war between the nations, while a large proportion of his private fortune had been committed to the care of Dutch agents; yet he could not reconcile it to himself that a European force so superior to his own should be permitted to establish itself in Bengal. He, therefore, determined at all hazards to expel them, and sent out Colonel Forde, with three hundred Europeans, eight hundred sepoys, and one hundred and fifty of the Nabob's horse, to oppose the march of the Dutch to Chinsura. Forde threw himself in their route, but being unwilling to come to extremities, sent back to request explicit instructions from his superior. The message arrived when Clive was engaged at a rubber of whist, upon which the Colonel, with characteristic self-possession, wrote with his pencil upon a slip torn from Forde's letter, the following laconic order:— "Dear Forde—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde was

not slow in fulfilling the wishes of the governor. He attacked the Dutch, put them to the route, and so entirely dispersed them, that out of the European portion of the army only fourteen individuals reached their destination, while three of the Company's cruizers bearing down upon the fleet, captured six out of the seven vessels that composed it. It has never been perfectly explained why this expedition should have been undertaken at all; but the promptitude with which the defeated party pleaded guilty, by apologising and offering to defray the expenses of the war, leaves good ground for surmising that Clive's suspicions of intended treachery were not unreasonable. This was the last public act which Colonel Clive performed during his first government of Bengal, for early in June, 1760, having long made up his mind to that step, he took, accompanied by Colonel Forde, his departure for Europe.

The calm which appeared to prevail throughout the Soubahdary at the period of Clive's resignation of the government was not destined to be of long continuance. Colonel Calliaud, who had been dispatched from the Carnatic to take command of the troops in Bengal, was scarcely arrived, when the tyranny and injustice of Meer Jaffier and his son, Meeram, again led to conspiracies, and the prince Alee Gohur was invited to try the fortune of a renewed invasion. He passed the Carumnassa at the head of a band of adventurers, and penetrated into Bahar, where intelligence of his father's murder reaching him*, he immediately proclaimed him-

* For the particulars of that act of guilt, see Vol. I., p. 283.

self emperor. This title, of his right to which no doubt could be entertained, gained him a vast accession of strength. Many rajahs and chiefs who had hitherto hung back, through the deference with which they regarded the authority of the Soubahdar, now declared openly in his favour, and he advanced on the road to Patna with an army which increased in numbers at every step. Nor was it the least politic of his proceedings that he nominated Suraja ad Dowla, the principal Soubahdar of Oude, to the office of Vizier. That chief, flattered by the distinction, made considerable exertions to support him, whilst Ahmed Shaw Abdalla, the conqueror of Delhi, espousing his cause, issued peremptory orders that he should be acknowledged by all the Afghan chieftains of Hindostan.

As Shah Alum (for such was the name which the new emperor assumed) approached the capital of Bahar, Ramnorain, whose talents were not of a military order, marched out at the head of a worthless rabble to oppose him. A petty detachment of English, under Lieutenant Cochrane, accompanied him, with the hope rather of preventing an action than of taking part in it. But to Mr. Cochrane's prudent counsels Ramnorain would pay no attention. He risked a battle, in which he sustained a signal defeat, not more from the cowardice than the treachery of his officers; while the English detachment, which had been imprudently divided, suffered next to annihilation. All the sepoys belonging to it were destroyed, their English officers slain, and a part only of the Europeans, by the exercise of more than common

courage and steadiness, made their way within the walls.

Had Shah Alum assaulted the city while its chiefs were paralyzed by the contemplation of this defeat, he would have doubtless obtained possession of it without difficulty; but he hesitated so long, that the Nabob's army under Meeram, and the main body of the English under Calliaud, were enabled to arrive to its support. A second battle took place, in which, despite of the misconduct of Meeram and his troops, the Emperor sustained a repulse. He retreated the same night to Bahar, a town ten miles distant from Patna; but not being pursued, (for Meeram was quite immovable,) his people recovered their confidence, and he entered promptly, and with as much hardihood as judgment, upon a new enterprise. Leaving Patna behind, he pushed upon Moorshedabad, where he expected to find Meer Jaffier but slenderly attended; and had not Calliaud used extraordinary exertions to overtake him, it is in the highest degree probable that the Nabob would have fallen into his hands. Yet though driven from the direct route, and compelled to make a detour through the mountains, he arrived in the plain of Bengal long before his pursuers; and Moorshedabad at last owed its preservation rather to his want of confidence than to the feeble garrison which held it. Two hundred Europeans, whom the Nabob had been enabled to call in from Calcutta, served to keep the Emperor at bay, till Calliaud, with his army, arrived, and every hope of success was laid aside.

Though baffled in this design, it still appeared practicable to the emperor to strike a serious blow

at the resources of his enemies. The precipitation with which they had followed him to the vicinity of Moorshedabad left Patna again exposed, and with indefatigable alacrity he doubled back upon that place, with the design of attacking it by surprise. He was further induced to take this step, because the handful of French troops which had escaped from the factory at Chandernagur, and which up to the present moment had resided peaceably in Oude, under M. Law, made him a tender of their services, which he gladly accepted, and they were already on their march to join him. At the same time the Naib of Poonania, a powerful chief, had declared in his favour. Hoping to form a junction with these allies under the walls of Patna, he moved rapidly into Bahar, and sat down before the capital at a season when it was but ill prepared to resist a vigorous assault. The Emperor pressed the siege with great vigour. He twice endeavoured to scale the walls, and there is good reason to believe that the third attack would have succeeded, had not Calliaud despatched a light corps, under an active officer, Captain Knox, to avert the threatened danger. Knox proceeded with a degree of rapidity which is perfectly astonishing in an Indian climate. He entered Patna covered with dust and sweat, yet he took no more than an hour or two to rest his overwrought but gallant followers, previous to risking an attack on the enemy's lines. In this he was completely successful, for he chose that period of the afternoon when the natives of warm climates are accustomed to refresh themselves with sleep, and the Emperor, alarmed at his boldness, instantly retreated. Meanwhile

the Naib, at the head of his long-expected contingent, appeared on the opposite bank of the river, when Knox, to the astonishment of the people of Patna, declared his intention of crossing and engaging him in the plain. He adhered to this resolution, and though his own force amounted only to two hundred Europeans, five pieces of light artillery, one battalion of Sepoys, and three hundred horse, while that of the enemy mustered twelve thousand men and thirty guns, he gained a decisive victory. The enemy fled, though in tolerable order, and he was too weak seriously to harass them.

What Knox was not sufficiently strong to attempt, Calliaud, whom Meeram still accompanied, resolved to accomplish. He crossed the Ganges, followed close upon the heels of the retreating Naib, and had already anticipated a rich reward of his exertions, when an event befel which rendered it necessary to abandon the enterprise. This was the death of Meeram, who perished during a thunder-storm, his tent being struck with lightning; and as Calliaud well knew that the death of their leader invariably causes an Indian army to dissolve, he did not venture to continue the pursuit any farther. On the contrary, he hastened back to Patna, where it required all his vigilance to keep even a part of the Nabob's troops together, till the season arrived for disposing them into winter-quarters.

CHAPTER VII.

Changes in the Government of Bengal—Their Consequences —Meer Jaffier deposed—Disagreements with Meer Causim —Surprise of Patna—The English defeated—Mr. Amyatt killed—Factory taken—War with Meer Causim—With the Emperor and Shujah ad Dowla—Meer Jaffier restored —His death—Nujab ad Dowla created Nabob—Appointment of Lord Clive as Governor.

WHILE the army was thus actively employed in the field, several important changes occurred in the civil government of Calcutta, which were shortly followed by a new revolution in the political condition of Bengal itself. After the departure of Clive, the office of governor devolved, as a matter of course, upon Mr. Holwell, the senior member of council, and a man possessed of some pretensions. The Court of Directors, however, instigated, as is generally believed, by Clive, had nominated Mr. Vansittart to the government, and that gentleman, arriving from Madras, entered upon his new dignity in the month of July. It was scarcely to be expected that the bringing in of a stranger over the heads of a body of men, each of whom was ambitious of promotion, would be regarded otherwise than with distaste. A feeling of outraged justice arose among them, and the jealousy with which they regarded the new appointment extending to the individual appointed, the

seeds of violent party-spirit were sown. No great while elapsed moreover ere an excellent opportunity offered of exhibiting the disposition which swayed all parties: for the state of the Soubahdarry was such as to render some radical change in its administration absolutely necessary.

When Mr. Vansittart reached Calcutta, he found the treasury empty, the means of providing an investment wanting, the troops at Patna on the eve of a mutiny for lack of pay, Madras and Bombay sending continual applications for pecuniary assistance, yet the income of the Company scarcely adequate to meet thecurrent expenses of Calcutta itself. Meer Jaffier, likewise, instead of fulfilling the stipulations into which he had entered, kept even the allowance promised to the army many months in arrear, while he lavishly expended upon his concubines and parasites sums of which all departments of the state stood in need. It was evident to all reflecting persons that such a state of things could not be permitted to continue. Mr. Holwell accordingly suggested the propriety of withdrawing the Company's support from the Nabob, of acceding to the proposal of Shah Alum, and establishing with him a league of amity; but Mr. Vansittart either perceiving, or fancying that he perceived, a stigma on the national character in thus changing sides, set his face decidedly against the arrangement. Now that Meeram was dead, there was no male in Jaffier's family of sufficient age to be entrusted with power, but his son-in-law, Meer Causim, was believed to be a man of talent, and towards him the new governor turned his eyes. It was suggested that he might act as

deputy to his father-in-law; in other words, mount the musnud in his room; and as he appeared in no wise averse to the arrangement, the assistance of the English was promised, on condition that he would grant them some control over his expenditure, and make good all the obligations incurred by his predecessor.

On the 27th of September, a treaty to this effect was drawn up and formally ratified; and on the 2d of October, Mr. Vansittart, accompanied by Colonel Calliaud and a division of troops, proceeded to Moorshedabad, for the purpose of obtaining the assent of Jaffier. They found the aged Nabob as little disposed to relinquish his rights as he was indignant that a proposition of the kind should, under any circumstances, be made to him, and Mr. Vansittart, aware of the feelings which actuated a portion of his own council, hesitated as to the propriety of pressing the measure. He sent for Meer Causim, confessed his unwillingness to proceed further, and hinted at the possible arrangement of all differences; but hearing that it was Meer Causim's intention, in case of failure, to throw himself into the arms of the Emperor, he returned to his original determination. The palace was secretly filled with troops, Meer Jaffier was seized, and receiving a solemn assurance that no violence would be offered to his person, he abdicated the throne, and withdrew with his private treasure and family to Calcutta.

It proved not the least fruitful source of dissatisfaction in the council, that this important revolution was conducted by a select committee. Men were unable to forget the princely fortunes which

rewarded the exertions of the favoured few, through whose services the elevation of Meer Jaffier had been brought about, and suspecting, naturally enough, that similar results would follow on the present occasion, such as saw themselves excluded from the list of principal agents became violently hostile to the arrangement. A protest was entered in the minute-book, to which the names of Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Smyth were appended. It contained no denial of the difficulties which surrounded the English government, nor any justification of the extravagancies and mismanagement of Jaffier, but it pronounced his deposition to be a violation of national faith, and severely censured those concerned in it. This was but the beginning of squabbles, which, during several years, continued to distract the councils of Bengal, and led to results not less remarkable than any which we shall be called upon to notice in the course of this history.

The first measures of Meer Causim indicated a strong disposition on his part to cultivate the good will of his allies, as far as was in any degree consistent with the rights and privileges of his own subjects. By exercising a remarkable economy in his private expenditure, and by seeking out and depriving of their wealth all who had been undeservedly enriched by his predecessor, he collected money enough to discharge, within a few months, the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, while, by mortgaging his jewels, he was enabled, shortly afterwards, to provide six or seven lacs, in discharge of his engagements with the Company. He was thus employed when the zemindars of Beer-

boom and Burdwan gave unequivocal signs of discontent. The Emperor likewise hung upon the borders of Bahar, which lay uncultivated through the apprehension of a renewed invasion, and as any protracted struggle must necessarily have interfered with their plans of retrenchment, the English resolved to avert it. Major Carnac, who in the beginning of the year had relieved Calliaud in the command of the troops, was instructed to march without delay upon Patna, with the view of driving Shah Alum back upon Oude, or compelling him to come to an accommodation.

Carnac, as soon as the rains ceased, marched rapidly to Gyah Maunpore, where Shah Alum, supported by M. Law and his corps of Frenchmen, lay encamped. He was accompanied by Ramnorain, and engaging the imperialists, defeated them with great slaughter. The most remarkable event in this action was the capture of M. Law, who, though deserted by his countrymen, refused to quit the field, and was found by Carnac in person, sitting astride upon a gun, as if waiting to throw away his life. It is highly honourable to all concerned, that Law refused to surrender his sword, and being received as a prisoner of war on his own terms, was treated both by Carnac and the other officers of the army with marked and delicate attention.

The consequences arising out of this battle were of the highest importance. Carnac hastened to propose an accommodation with the emperor, which was joyfully acceded to by that unfortunate prince, and the Nabob being, after some hesitation, persuaded to become a party to the treaty, Shah Alum

was received with great appearance of deference into Patna. To satisfy the feelings of all concerned, the Emperor was made to establish his court in the hall of the Company's factory, where the Nabob, acknowledging him as sovereign, was invested with the dignity of Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, liable to a yearly payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees. It was at this time that the Emperor received the invitation of the Soubahdar of Oude, of Nujab ad Dowla, and other Afgan chiefs, to return under their protection to Delhi; and as he accepted it with great apparent joy, he was immediately escorted by the English troops as far as the frontier of Bahar*.

These perils being averted, Meer Causim proceeded, together with Major Yorke and a detachment of English, to suppress the threatened rebellion of his discontented zemindars. He overtook them at Beerboom, attacked and routed their forces, and reduced both districts to obedience, after which he compelled the Mahrattas, whom they had called in to their assistance, to evacuate the province. But the expense of the expedition entirely exhausted his treasury, and though he gave up the revenues of Burdwan in pawn to the Company, he found, on his return to Patna, that difficulties increased upon him daily. In this emergency he began to devise plans for the plunder of Ramnorain, whom, by an error of judgment common to eastern princes, he suspected of having enriched himself at the expense of his province and his sovereign. The first step was to demand

* For particulars, see Vol. I.

from the deputy-governor of Patna, an exact account of his receipts, from the period of his appointment to office. A good deal of intriguing followed, because Mr. Vansittart, naturally inclined to support the Nabob of his own choice, leaned to the side of Meer Causim, whilst Major Carnac, who acted with Mr. Amyatt's party, took every opportunity of exhibiting his extreme predilection for Ramnorain. But the contest was brought to a close at last, by a display of excessive intemperance on the part of Carnac, which led to the sudden recal both of him and Colonel Coote, whom, on his arrival to assume the command, he had infected with his own prejudices. It was an unfortunate measure, however justifiable in the eyes of such as advised it, and it was succeeded by others not less impolitic, and still more fatal in their results. The Nabob, having satisfied Vansittart that he possessed no funds for the defrayment of the debt due to the Company, except such as might be recovered from his dishonest representative, was permitted to follow his own devices, and Ramnorain, as a necessary consequence, became involved in absolute ruin.

The downfall of an individual so influential, and to whom the English had in so many instances been indebted, furnished additional grounds of complaint to the party of whom we have already spoken as jealous of the appointment of Mr. Vansittart. They exclaimed loudly against the injustice of the whole proceeding, and condemned, in severe terms, the want of integrity and spirit evinced by the president; nor would it be candid to conceal, that a more glaring error has seldom been com-

mitted by the head of any government. Whatever Mr. Vansittart's opinion of Ramnorain's conduct might have been, it indicated little skill in the management of a semi-barbarous race, to give up into the power of an enemy, a chief avowedly connected with the English by ties of amity and dependence. Even such as desired the destruction of the individual, beheld, in the means by which it was effected, strong grounds of distrust in the English character, while an opinion spread abroad, both among Europeans and natives, that the Nabob would be supported in all his projects, whether justifiable or the reverse. The consequence was that a spirit of opposition extended itself more and more widely, both in the council-chamber and in the factories; and the governor soon found that all his influence was required to carry on, with effect, the business of the colony.

Such was the state of affairs, when instructions arrived from home for the dismissal from the Company's service of those gentlemen on whom the governor could alone depend for efficient support. Prior to the departure of Clive, a letter had been written at his suggestion, which was signed by himself, Mr. Holwell, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. M'Guire, and in which certain expressions employed by the Directors in one of their despatches were animadverted upon with a degree of freedom quite unprecedented. The sovereigns of Leadenhall-street took violent umbrage at this letter; they answered it by a peremptory order, that the individuals whose names were appended should be deprived of office, and the order reached Calcutta at a juncture when the spirit of discord was at the

highest. No delay was permitted to be used in paying obedience to so welcome a mandate, and Mr. Vansittart's friends being dismissed, he found himself outvoted on all occasions.

One of the earliest acts of the triumphant faction was to appoint to the chiefship of the factory at Patna, Mr. Ellis, the most intemperate and arbitrary of Vansittart's opponents, and the personal enemy of the Nabob. This gentleman omitted no opportunity of treating Meer Causim with disrespect; he ordered his collectors to be resisted whenever they made any difficulties as to the transit of goods to and from the stations, and he seized certain loads of nitre which were in progress to Moorshedabad for the Nabob's private use. But Mr. Ellis was not singular in these respects. It has been shown that, by virtue of a privilege granted at an earlier stage in their history, the Company were permitted to protect from inland duties all goods specified in a passport signed by the president, and intended for exportation. During the confusion which attended recent events, the most shameful abuse of this privilege had been introduced. Not the Company only, but every private Englishman, and not every private Englishman only, but every native connected with the English, now claimed the right of carrying on a trade with the interior free of all impost, while the subjects of the Nabob were compelled to pay at various stations a duty of full forty per cent. upon every article of barter. It was to no purpose that the merchants complained to their sovereign, and the sovereign remonstrated with the council at Calcutta. The members of that body, being per-

sonally interested in the proceeding, gave to it their steady support, in defiance of the honourable exertions of Mr. Vansittart, and the minority with which he now acted. Nor did the evil rest there. If the Nabob's officer of customs presumed to protest against some glaring abuse, he was either cast into prison, or flogged upon the spot. The people likewise were compelled by threats and violence, both to purchase the commodities offered to them, and to sell their own goods at a reduced value, while the judges and the magistrates to whom they appealed were either laughed to scorn, or their functions usurped. The Nabob bore with these and other wrongs and insults till the whole frame of his government became relaxed, and the zemindars and other collectors in many districts refused to be longer answerable for the revenues.

Mr. Vansittart did his best to stem the torrent, and at last so far won upon the better feelings of his council, that he was permitted to undertake in person a journey to Moorshedabad, for the purpose of arranging, if possible, some definite treaty with the Nabob. He found Meer Causim violently, and not unjustly, enraged, and, to all appearance, resolved not to sanction, under any modification, the continuance of such abuses; but he prevailed upon him in the end to accept a compensation of nine per cent. on all goods, whether they belonged to the Company or to individual Englishmen. The duty, moreover, was to be paid upon the spot, where the article happened to be procured, and hence no interruption was to be given at the barriers, or chokeys, which guarded every bridge, ferry, and road throughout the country. Now, this

was undoubtedly an arrangement in every respect unfair towards the natives, because in the highest degree favourable to the strangers. While the latter were required to pay not more than nine per cent., the former, besides suffering the inconvenience of frequent searches, paid in no case less, and in some cases more, than forty per cent.; yet was it scouted and condemned by the members of council at Calcutta, as altogether inadmissible. They pronounced that the President had far exceeded his authority, that the Company were not bound to adhere to the terms of this treaty, which was in direct violation of the free trade secured to them by ancient charter; and that the impost to which alone it behoved them to submit when trading, either collectively or individually, was a payment of two and a half per cent. on the article of salt. It was at the same time decreed, that all disputes between English merchants and their agents and the subjects of the native government should no longer be cognizable by the Nabob's tribunals, but should be referred to the heads of British factories, and to them alone.

When Mr. Vansittart quitted Moorshedabad, he entertained a firm belief that the troublesome question of trade was settled for ever; indeed, so confident was he that even his council would not reject the terms which he had obtained for them, that he drew up a general outline of his plan, and committed it to the Nabob's keeping. A similar persuasion existed in the mind of Meer Causim, who despatched copies of the memorandum to all his principal marts, with directions to the collecting

officers that they should act in strict agreement with its tenor. He himself then set out on an expedition against Napaul. But when, on his return, information was communicated to him that the English had paid no regard to what he considered as a formal treaty, his indignation became violently excited. There seemed but one course for him to adopt, which he had long threatened, but to which he was extremely averse. He published an edict abolishing all transit duties whatever throughout the Soubahdarry; in order that, as he himself expressed it, his own merchants might at least participate in the spoils of their sovereign. It needed but some such act as this to blow up into a flame the embers which had long smouldered. The English council, in defiance of all decency as well as justice, pronounced the Nabob's edict to be an act of glaring hostility towards the Company; they insisted that it should be immediately recalled, on peril of their heavy displeasure, and as the Nabob paid to their requisition no attention, both sides prepared for war.

Partly in order to save appearances, partly with the hope that even yet extremities might be avoided, an embassy, consisting of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, both members of the preponderating faction, was despatched to remonstrate with the Nabob. They were coldly received, and somewhat cavalierly treated, but no positive insult was offered to them, and they bore, not without a struggle, the indirect slights to which their situation rendered them liable. It happened that at this time certain boats laden, among other effects, with five hundred muskets for the troops in Patna, arrived at Mongheer.

The Nabob ordered them to be stopped, and, alarmed by the prospect which their approach held out, sent to solicit the support both of the Emperor and the Soubahdar of Oude. A good deal of angry discussion followed this procedure, and the deputation at length prevailed upon him to permit the flotilla to pass; but the accounts were scarcely forwarded to Calcutta of his amicable dispositions, ere matters underwent a change. The Nabob had long been aware of a design on the part of Mr. Ellis to make himself master of Patna as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer, and within a few hours from the despatch of Mr. Amyatt's letter he received positive intelligence that preparations for the attempt were in progress. He lost no time in issuing fresh instructions for the seizure of the boats, and though he permitted Mr. Amyatt to return to Calcutta, he detained Mr. Hay as a hostage for some of his aumils, whom the English had thought fit to imprison.

The rumour which had reached the Nabob, touching the designs of Mr. Ellis, was in every respect well founded. He had early applied to his own government for discretionary powers, which Mr. Vansittart, aware of his natural rashness, was exceedingly unwilling to grant, but in this, as in other questions, Mr. Vansittart remained in the minority.

On the 24th of June, Mr. Ellis learned that Mr. Amyatt had departed for the presidency; that very night he led his troops against Patna, surprised the guards, scaled the walls, and obtained possession of the place. It was an unjust and a most unfortunate commencement of the struggle, for the troops

being permitted to abandon their ranks, spread themselves through the town in quest of plunder, and were immediately driven out again with some loss. The survivors fled in confusion to the factory, which in its turn was subjected to the miseries of a siege, and which, after a feeble resistance, fell into the enemy's hands, the garrison abandoning the works, and retreating into Oude. There they were attacked by the Foujedar of Jukaur Sarem, who compelled them to lay down their arms, while the factory of Cossimbuzar was at the same time taken, and all the English belonging to it sent prisoners to Patna. But it was not thus only that the aggressors suffered. The Nabob no sooner heard of the attempt upon Patna than he despatched a flotilla of armed boats to stop Mr. Amyatt, and he, foolishly resisting, was, with several of his attendants, killed in a contest as hopeless as it was uncalled for.

Intelligence of these transactions excited the highest indignation among the members of council at Calcutta. It was resolved, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings, to enter into no compromise with Meer Causim; and Jaffier, who still sighed for the state and parade of sovereignty, was again declared Nabob. He purchased his second elevation by a ready assent to every condition demanded of him. He gave up all claim to transit duties, except in the article of salt, and even in this case agreed to accept a composition of two and a half per cent. offered by the English. He undertook to raise and equip twelve thousand horse, and a like number of foot; to pay to the Company three hundred thou-

sand rupees on account of expenses in the war; to reimburse the personal losses of individuals, and to permit no Europeans, except Englishmen, to erect fortifications in the country. These preliminaries being settled, the allies took the field, Major Adams marching with the English army on the 2d of July, and the Nabob joining him on the 17th, at Agurdup.

Meer Causim had, during his short and troubled reign, bestowed infinite pains upon the organisation and discipline of his army. He had formed a considerable portion of it into battalions, which were armed, clothed, and drilled after the fashion of the Company's Sepoys, and he now sent forward a strong advanced guard, under three of his most renowned generals, to cover the approaches to Moorshedabad. On the 19th, an action was fought, in which the English proved victorious. The enemy fell back upon Geriah, where they were joined by the main body under Causim in person; and on the 2d of August they again risked a battle in an open plain, near Soottee. It was the most serious affair in which Europeans had ever been engaged with Indians, for the firing continued warm and close upwards of four hours, and the 84th regiment, attacked both in front and rear, was at one moment in great danger; but the steadiness of the men, and the cool courage of the officers, prevailed at last over the impetuosity of their assailants. Meer Causim was defeated with the loss of all his cannon, one hundred and fifty boats loaded with provisions, and a large quantity of stores; while his army was saved from utter destruction only by taking shelter in an entrenched

camp, which had been formed on the banks of the Oodwah.

Closely pursued by the English, with whom no reconciliation was to be expected, and rendered desperate by the prospects which everywhere met his gaze, Meer Causim began to indulge upon his unfortunate prisoners the cruelty which was natural to him. Ramnorain, with several other natives of rank, were put to death, but the English, though they suffered a more rigorous confinement, were, for the present, spared. Meanwhile his army, reinforced by fresh levies, kept within their lines on the Oodwah. The position was strong, being covered by a nullah, or lake, as well as by the rugged banks of the stream, and during five weeks Major Adams, though he earnestly desired it, could make no impression. At last a deserter, grown weary of Meer Causim's service, and returning into camp, offered, on promise of a pardon, to guide a body of troops by a ford through the nullah; and the offer being accepted, the enemy's entrenchments were gained before they became aware of their danger. The rout was complete; Meer Causim himself, with his dispirited followers, fled to Mongheer, a strong fortress, into which he threw a garrison, after which he retreated to Patna, in a frame of mind more pitiable than ever.

The remainder of the history of this ill-fated prince is narrated in few words. Mongheer was besieged and taken, upon which Meer Causim, in a paroxysm of rage, caused his English prisoners to be massacred. They were all put to death, with the exception of Dr. Fullerton, by his chief officer, Sumroo, a German by descent, and a deserter from

the Company's service. As the English advanced upon Patna, Meer Causim evacuated it, and took refuge within the territory of Oude, the Nabob of which, the Vizier Shujah Dowla, promised faithfully to support him. He found that chief, whom the Emperor Shah Alum accompanied, preparing at Allahabad an expedition against the Bundelas, and he performed an essential service, by reducing, with his disciplined battalions, one of their strongest forts; yet neither the recollection of this, nor the sanctity of an oath sworn upon the Koran, were sufficient to secure for him any generous treatment. It is true that the allies entered Bahar, ravaged the country in all directions, and penetrated as far as Patna, under the walls of which they fought a battle; but the Vizier, finding that against the discipline of the English his own rude levies made no impression, soon began to desire with them an accommodation. They demanded the surrender of Meer Causim, to which he would not consent, but he returned to his own country, where he began to meditate the plunder of the fugitive who had thrown himself on his honour for protection.

Meanwhile the English army, into which a spirit of daring mutiny had entered, continued inactive in the vicinity of Patna. The men had exhibited strong symptoms of discontent prior to the advance of the Vizier, which, not less than an apprehension of his overwhelming numbers, led to a retreat from the frontier, and when in the month of May, 1764, Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived to assume the command, he found that the severest measures would be necessary to restore order. On one occasion an entire battalion of

Sepoys marched off, with their arms and baggage, to join the enemy. Munro instantly despatched in pursuit a corps on whose fidelity he could depend, which, coming up with the deserters when asleep and unguarded, took them all prisoners. A selection was now made, by order of the commander, of twenty-four of the most active ringleaders, the whole of whom were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot. Four of them were blown away from the mouth of a gun on the spot; but when preparations were making to execute the remainder, the Sepoys openly declared that they would not permit it. Munro behaved on this trying occasion with admirable firmness and judgment. He commanded the artillery officers to load their pieces with grape, and turn them on the native regiments; he drew up his Europeans in the intervals between the guns, and peremptorily desired the discontented Sepoys to ground their arms. The men obeyed, the executions went on, and order and discipline were restored.

The greater part of the season having thus been wasted, and the rains beginning to fall, it was the 15th of September ere Munro was enabled to take the field. He suffered much, likewise, from the absence of every necessary supply, and carried with him provisions enough for eight days' consumption only; nevertheless he passed the Soane in spite of the opposition of a corps of cavalry, and on the 22d of October reached the vicinity of the Vizier's entrenched camp at Buxar. On the following morning, at eight o'clock, the enemy were seen advancing in force. Munro drew out to receive them, and after an obstinate contest, which lasted

three hours, gave them a complete defeat. It was one of the most important and decisive victories ever gained by the English in India. It destroyed for ever the strength of the Soubahdar of Oude, placed the Emperor himself under the protection of the English, and elevated them at once to the highest rank among the sovereign powers of Hindostan.

The day after the battle, Shah Alum pitched his tents beside those of the British army. He expressed great delight at his escape from the thraldom in which Shujah Dowla had held him, and his perfect confidence in the honour of Munro, with whom, as the representative of the English Company, he proposed to enter into a negociation; though Munro, as he had received no explicit instructions on this head, declined to avail himself of the offer, till letters should arrive from Calcutta in answer to his own. In the meanwhile, however, he advanced to Benares, the Emperor marching with his retinue in rear of the column, till stopped by the arrival of a messenger from Shujah Dowla who came in with proposals of peace. Munro demanded, as a preliminary step to all negociation, the surrender both of Meer Causim and Sumroo. The Vizier consented to the first, but denied his ability to perform the second of these conditions; nevertheless he offered to have the deserter assassinated in the presence of any person whom the English general might send to witness the deed. Such a proposal was, of course, scouted, nor does it appear that Shujah Dowla, perfidious as he was, ever entertained a serious idea of delivering up Meer Causim to the English. Be

this, however, as it may, Meer Causim, fearful of the issue, effected his escape to Rohilla, and for the present all communication between the Vizier and the Company was broken off.

By this time the answer to Major Munro's despatch had arrived, and a definitive treaty with the Emperor was drawn up and ratified. It secured the possession of Gauzeepore, and the rest of the territories of the Rajah of Benares to the Company, who, on their part, engaged to conquer for the Emperor, Allahabad and the other dominions of Shujah Dowla; while the Emperor undertook at some subsequent period to refund the expenses of the war out of the royal revenues. The troops were immediately put in motion, but ere they had effected any important purpose, fresh revolutions occurred in Bengal, which led to a total change of purpose. Meer Jaffier, who, on the retreat of the confederates from Buxar, had returned, at the earnest request of the English, to Calcutta, was seized with a dangerous distemper. In spite of his weak state, he was daily harassed by the members of Council for fresh advances of money, the public requiring him to pay, in addition to former obligations, five lacs of rupees monthly during the continuance of the war, and individuals swelling their claims to the enormous amount of fifty-three lacs. "All delicacy," says Mr. Scrafton, "was laid aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this sum, of which seven-eighths were for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the India

merchants." "The Company," at the same time, became, according to Clive, "possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues. He was allowed to collect the other half himself, but, in fact, he was no more than a banker for the Company's servants, who would draw upon him as often and to as great an amount as they pleased." Nor was the evil permitted to end even here. The English pertinaciously asserting their right to carry on trade free of all imposts, at once impoverished the revenue, and put an entire stop to the industry of the subject. The wretched Nabob felt all this acutely; it heightened the virulence of the malady under which he laboured, and in the month of January, having with difficulty removed from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, he gave up the ghost.

A power of choice amid various courses was now submitted to the government of Calcutta. They might restore to the Emperor the sovereign authority over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, or leave him to exercise his legitimate privilege by appointing a Soubahdar; they might assume the Soubahdarry to themselves, in compliance with an offer repeatedly made, and recently renewed by Shah Alum through Major Munro; or they might set up a Soubahdar of their own, retaining the substance of power, while they entrusted the shadow and the labour to another. They preferred the last-mentioned plan, partly because they were as yet unwilling to stand forward as sovereigns of any portion of India, partly because they individually anticipated a rich harvest of gifts on the occasion. All things fell out as they could have desired. Instead of advancing to the

musnud the grandson of Meer Jaffier, the son of Meeram, a child six years old, they proclaimed Nujub ad Dowla, a son of the late Nabob, and a young man of twenty years of age, Soubahdar, whom they bound down by treaty to a line of conduct which rendered him a mere tool in their hands. The new Nabob was to support only so many troops as were necessary for the parade of government, the distribution of justice, and the business of the collections. The military defence of the country thus devolved entirely upon the English, while they took care to control its civil administration also, by nominating the minister, by name Reza Khan, through whom all affairs of justice and revenue should be managed. The other conditions of the treaty were almost to a letter the same with those which they had contracted with the old Nabob. Not only the revenues of Burdwan, Mednapore, and Chittagong, were made over to the Company, but a monthly payment of five lacs was secured during the war, whilst a further promise was exacted, that so much of it as might to them seem necessary should be continued after the war had ended. Nor were these most impudent of all negociators neglectful of the important privilege of free trade. That was secured, in its most extended sense, to every servant of the Company; nay, it was explicitly provided, that not an accountant of revenue should be appointed throughout the country, except with the sanction of the English authorities.

These measures passed the Council during the temporary government of Mr. Spencer, who, as senior member, succeeded to the Presidency on the

resignation of Mr. Vansittart. In the meanwhile, the Court of Directors, who had long acted as mere spectators of the proceedings of their servants, began to feel that the moment had arrived when some interference on their part was necessary. Endless recriminations had been poured in upon them, the parties mutually accusing one another of insubordination and disaffection, while the intelligence that war with Meer Causim was inevitable, and that a number of their functionaries had been slain, added strength to the alarm which such a state of things excited. After a good deal of hesitation, they determined to send out a new governor, with powers sufficiently extensive to redress all existing grievances; and though Clive, now advanced to the peerage, was no favourite among them, (for which, indeed, his independent and, perhaps, domineering disposition may fairly account,) they could pitch upon no man better qualified to discharge so important a trust. He was, in consequence, nominated to fill the joint offices of Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Company's civil and military establishments in Bengal, and on the 4th of June, 1764, after being permitted to choose his own councillors, set sail for Calcutta.

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of the Carnatic—Peace with France—Treaty of Paris—Return of Clive to Calcutta—Appointment of a Select Committee—Reforms—Grant of the Dewannee obtained—Clive resigns the Government—Succeeded by Mr. Verelst—He quits India—Legislative proceedings at home.

Before entering upon a narrative of the second administration of Lord Clive, it will be necessary to revert, in few words, to the state of affairs in the Carnatic.

By the total expulsion of the French, consequent upon the fall of Pondicherry, the English found themselves placed in a situation to which they had never, in their most sanguine moments, ventured to look forward. With a Nabob, who owed his elevation entirely to their exertions, in possession of the nominal sovereignty of the Carnatic, they felt that all power was in reality vested in their hands, and they soon began to convince Mahomed Ali that they were not disposed to regard that circumstance as barren of substantial advantages. They not only made large demands upon his exchequer, under the pretext of expenses incurred during the war, but they solicited from him a jaghire; that is to say, the revenues arising from certain tracts of country, free of all charges on the part of government. To the first proposition the Nabob assented, as far as his means

would allow; he even borrowed money, on usurious interest, in order to raise the sum required, and agreed, over and above, to defray all charges incurred during the late siege; but he endeavoured to evade the last requisition, by pleading his extreme poverty, the load of debt under which he laboured, and the necessities of his situation. For a time the Madras government bore with these excuses; they assisted him likewise in reducing Velore, where Mortiz Ali endeavoured to maintain himself, and they expended in the expedition more of blood and of treasure than the post, when won, was worth; but they steadily refused to take any part in the subjugation of Tanjore, towards which the Nabob, as much from pecuniary distress as from motives of ambition, cast a longing eye. On the contrary, they assumed to themselves the right of arbitrating between the two monarchs, both of whom they appeared to treat as sovereign princes, and they restored the semblance of good will between them, by exacting from Tanjore a payment of twenty-two lacs of rupees* as arrears of tribute, with the promise of an annual contribution of four lacs. Nevertheless, they lost not sight even for a moment of their great object, the acquisition of an independence for themselves. They contended that, as their army had conquered the musnud for Mohamed, so must he be main-

* The whole of this was transferred to the Company's treasury, and the Nabob credited with the amount in the government books. There were other points likewise in which the English were necessitated to interfere, particularly in the preservation of the dam which kept the banks of the Covery apart; but these are mere episodes in the history of India.

tained in his seat by their exertions, and they professed their inability to support an armed force sufficient for that purpose, unless a share of the revenues of the country were made over to them. A good deal of correspondence took place, during which Mr. Pigot, the President, enacted for a time the farce of a suitor, but as he ended by reminding the Nabob of his total dependence on his allies, the humbled sovereign was fain to submit.

Such was the relative situation of the two parties in the summer of 1763, when a new and unlooked for enemy called them into the field. This was Mohamed Issoof, a chief who had performed signal services as a partizan in the late war, and who received as his recompense a lease, on easy conditions, of the zemindaries of Madura and Tinnivelly. It is highly probable that, moderate as his rent was, he found himself unable, in consequence of the distracted state of the country, to discharge it. Such, at least, was his own account of the matter, and it is certain that he speedily fell into arrears; but the Nabob resolved to employ force against him, and the English, as in duty bound, lent their assistance. Mohamed Issoof was a brave and skilful chief, his forts were strong, and his country exceedingly defensible; he, therefore, protracted the struggle from August, 1763, to October, 1764. He was subdued at last, through the treachery of a French mercenary, but the conquest was as far from repaying the labour, as it covered the expenses incurred in effecting it. Upwards of a million sterling was wasted in this tedious war, which cost the lives of many English as well as native soldiers.

It was at this period that intelligence arrived of the signing of the treaty of Paris, which restored peace to France and England, of which both countries were equally desirous. It was stipulated by the eleventh article of that treaty, that mutual restitution of conquests should take place in India; in other words, " that Great Britain should restore to France, in the condition in which they might then be, the different factories possessed in 1749 by the latter power, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, as on that of Malabar and in Bengal. France, on the other hand, resigned all pretensions to the conquests which she had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa. It was further agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty would deliver up all that he might have conquered from Great Britain, whether in the islands or on the continent of the East Indies; that he should erect no fortifications, nor maintain any troops in the dominions of the Soubahdar; and that both parties should acknowledge Mohamed Ali as legitimate Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat-jing legitimate Soubahdar, or Nizam, of the Deccan. With how little care some, at least, of these stipulations were drawn up, we shall have occasion to notice by-and-by; in the mean while we return to the history of Bengal.

We stated in the last chapter, that the re appointment of Clive, with extraordinary powers, to the head of the British establishment in Bengal was occasioned by a lively conviction that his ability and firmness would alone avail to redress the grievances under which the Company's affairs were understood to labour. The mutual accusa-

tions of the opposite factions in council had long satisfied the Directors that there was no such thing as an efficient government in the Presidency, while the accounts that reached them of the iniquitous extent to which the abuses of free trade were carried, excited not less their indignation than their alarm. Various despatches had been sent out, prohibiting altogether the continuance of so mischievous a practice. In like manner, the habit of accepting presents from the native authorities was condemned, and the local agents were generally accused of sacrificing the interests of the Company to their own. Though there was ample truth in these allegations, and though the censure conveyed in them was well merited, neither it nor the repeated commands of the court received any attention. The members of council read the despatches, and cast them aside as waste paper, while they excused themselves by carelessly observing, that the Honourable Court could not possibly be aware, when the letters were written, of the mighty changes which had of late occurred in the state of the country. It was this continued disregard of their wishes, together with the notorious anarchy prevalent in Calcutta, which induced the Court to solicit once more the assistance of Lord Clive, a man who had retired from the service only in sufficient time to escape the disgrace, if such it deserved to be termed, of a dismissal.

Though Clive had participated largely in the harvest of presents which late events had opened out to all the influential Europeans in Bengal, he was not blind to the impolicy, as well as to the injustice, of permitting the practice to continue.

If it had been mischievous in the beginning of the Company's power, it would become doubly so as that power should extend itself, not merely by rendering the local authorities indifferent to the public welfare, but as an engine of oppression in their hands towards the natives. Gifts, it was contended, were no longer now what they once were, gratuitous displays of gratitude and good will on the part of the donors. They had degenerated into exactions, to which the feeble natives were obliged to submit, and they must, if persisted in, so impoverish the country, as to render both its trade and revenues worthless to the Company. Clive accordingly proposed to strike at the very root of the system at once, and received full authority to enact any regulations, or to adopt any method which should appear calculated to put an end to it. With respect, however, to the privileges of free trade, as Clive himself had not devoted much of his attention to commercial pursuits, he was less qualified either to form an opinion, or to suggest the proper method of controlling it. Like other men of common sense, he saw that, when carried to an extreme, it tended to drive all the native merchants out of the market, and to sap the foundations of the Company's commerce. He was not unaware, moreover, of the excessive abuses to which it led, of the cruelties inflicted upon the people by the agents of the English, who, when they *bought*, *gave* what they pleased, and when they *sold*, *took* what they pleased; but he imagined, with many in the Court of Directors, that the evil was so interwoven with the frame of society in Bengal, that it ought to be modified, rather

than abolished. Such is the substance of what he himself affirmed, when his conduct in this, as in other particulars, was arraigned; and though his proceedings may not be without a handle of which his enemies are enabled to lay hold, we are not, therefore, justified in refusing to his statements as much of credit as they may appear to deserve.

On the 3d of May, 1765, Lord Clive reached Calcutta. He had received from the Directors permission to exercise his own discretion in the remodelling, or otherwise, of the government; that is to say, he was vested with authority either to continue the council in office, himself superseding the temporary governor; or, should the state of affairs seem to demand it, he was authorized to appoint a select committee of four, in whose hands, together with his own, all jurisdiction should be vested. Clive found the elements of strife too abundant in the old council to hesitate as to the proper course which it behoved him to follow. On the fourth day after their arrival, he, Mr. Simm, and Mr. Sykes, resolved themselves into a select committee, nominating General Carnac and Mr. Verelst, both of them absent at the moment, to be their coadjutors, and after administering to one another an oath of secrecy, declared the original council dissolved There was a good deal of murmuring, as might have been expected, at the promptitude of this measure; but the firmness of the Governor was too well known to permit a hope to be entertained of diverting him from his purpose.

So early as the 24th of January, and previous to the treaty with Nujeem ad Dowla, the then government of Calcutta had received positive instruc-

tions from home, that the inland trade should be abandoned, or that an agreement should be entered into by all the servants of the Company, not to receive for the future any presents from the natives. These commands the council treated, as they had done others, with sovereign contempt. The inland trade, instead of being abandoned, was prosecuted with increased energy, and so far from executing the covenant, numerous and rich gifts were greedily exacted from the new Nabob on his accession. The first measure of the select committee was, to procure an immediate execution of the covenants. They were signed first by the members themselves, next by the servants on the spot, and lastly by such as were scattered through the provinces. It is recorded of General Carnac on this occasion, that, though he sent round the deeds to his subordinates, he himself delayed, on various pretexts, to ratify his own, nor was his signature appended till after he had accepted a present of two lacs of rupees from the Emperor Shah Alum.

Having settled this point, and inquired, with some semblance of party rancour, into the conduct of certain individuals to whom his elevation had given offence, Clive, on the 25th of June, departed from Calcutta, for the double purpose of forming a new arrangement with the Nabob for the government of the provinces, and of concluding a treaty of peace with the Vizier Suraga Dowla. It has been broadly asserted by those to whom the memory of this great man is not dear, that Clive had determined, previously to his quitting England, on the line of conduct which he was about to pursue; and they quote, in corroboration of their statement,

extracts from certain of his letters, in which he desires his agent to dispose of all his money, and of as much as could be borrowed in his name, in the purchase of East India stock. We are not called upon to decide whether this is to be taken as conclusive evidence against Lord Clive's positive assertion, that he had not made up his mind till some time after his arrival in India, as to any particular line of policy; and that the line which he did adopt was pointed out by the circumstances of the moment; but, wherever the truth may lie, his present mode of procedure with the Nabob was, without question, the immediate cause of a mighty change in the condition of the English in India. That feeble chief was easily persuaded to associate with his deputy, Reza Khan, in the chief management of his affairs, two others, the Rajah Dooloob Ram, and Juggut Lut, a great Hindoo banker, and to admit to his confidence a European resident, whose professed business it was to maintain concord in the Divan. Finally, he surrendered into the hands of the Company the whole of his revenues, together with the entire management of the Soubahdarry, and consented to accept an annual pension of fifty-three lacs of rupees, subject to the control of the three agents nominated by the English.

These arrangements were concluded on the 25th of July; on the 28th, Clive set out for Moorshedabad, in pursuit of the army now advanced far into Oude. It had not been idle since the battle of Buxar, for the Vizier, after despatching his women and treasures for safety to Bareily, a strong hold belonging to a Rohilla chief, had been inde-

fatigable in his exertions to draw together another army, with which he might yet protract the war. He had called to his standard a body of Mahrattas, and Ghazee-ad-dien Khan, with a handful of his followers, had joined him; but the Rohillas, on whom he mainly relied, kept aloof, and the traitor Sumroo, with three hundred Europeans, quitted his service. With these, after abandoning Lucknow, he endeavoured to raise the siege of Allahabad; but ere he could interrupt it, the English effected a breach, and the place immediately surrendered. Nevertheless, on the 3d of May he risked a battle near Corah, in which he sustained a total defeat; and on the 22d of June, the Mahrattas, on whom he mainly depended, were again routed and driven to the hills.

Broken in spirit and destitute of all resources, the Vizier now determined to throw himself on the mercy of the English. He addressed a letter to Gen. Carnac, in which he stated that he was on his way to the camp, and not long after its receipt he actually arrived. He was received with the utmost respect, and treated with great delicacy, indeed there was every disposition on the part of the new government, not only to act mercifully, but liberally towards him. The consequence was, that, in a conference with Lord Clive on the 2d of August, he received assurances that the whole of his dominions would be restored. Certain conditions were, indeed, annexed, as that he should pay fifty thousand rupees as a compensation for expenses; that he should not molest the Rajah of Benares, who, though one of his subjects, had joined the English in the late war; and that he

should engage never again to accept the services of Sumroo, or afford him an asylum in his dominions; but these, light in themselves, were esteemed as nothing by a man who scarcely ventured to hope, under any circumstances, for a restitution to power. The truth, however, was, that Clive, like all the ablest Indian statesmen of his day, stood opposed to the policy of extending the Company's empire beyond the limits of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. It was, therefore, necessary either to reinstate Suja ad Dowla, or, in accordance with a former agreement with the Emperor, to make over to him the fertile soubahdarry of Oude; and as the Soubahdar himself was esteemed the more efficient ally of the two, as well as a better check upon the growing power of the Mahrattas and the Afghans, the preference was given to him. Such were the real motives which led to the restoration of Suja ad Dowla, and to an agreement between him and the English, which bound either party to afford assistance in the event of the dominions of the other being invaded.

It now only remained to arrange certain important points, in which the Emperor Shah Alum was mainly interested. Instead of the sovereignty of Oude, with a lordly revenue in other provinces, that unfortunate monarch was informed that the countries about Allahabad and Corah were secured to him, and that he should enjoy their revenues, together with an annual pension of thirty-six lacs of rupees. In return for this, he was required to grant to the Company a firman, or deed, authorizing them to collect and receive the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. This document,

which raised the Company at once to the rank of a sovereign power, and made them masters of a great kingdom, in name as well as in reality, was dated the 12th day of August, 1765; and it was accompanied by another deed, confirming to them the possession of all the territories which they held within the limits of what may henceforth be termed the *nominal empire* of the Moguls.

On the 7th of September, Lord Clive resigned his seat in the committee, which lost no time in discussing the important question of the inland trade. It was one concerning which Clive, by his own account*, had long made up his mind, and hence the delays in coming to an arrangement were not very oppressive. The three great articles of internal commerce in Bengal were salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. It was resolved by the Committee, that a monopoly should be granted, and the trade in these carried on for the exclusive benefit of the senior servants of the Company. A fixed duty, computed to produce one hundred thousand pounds a year, was indeed deducted; but with this exception, all the profits arising out of it were ordered to be divided into fifty-four shares, which again were distributed into three classes. The first class, comprehending thirty-five shares, was assigned to the governor, the commander-in-chief, the members of council, and two colonels, the governor receiving five shares, and the other functionaries in proportion. The second class, which

* He states in one of his letters, that the project eventually carried into execution was devised by him during his outward voyage.

consisted of twelve shares, was divided equally among a chaplain, fourteen senior merchants, and three lieutenant-colonels; while the third, which included only nine shares, was awarded to thirteen factors, four majors, four chief surgeons at the presidency, two surgeons serving with the army, one secretary to the council, one sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and one sub-export warehouse-keeper. At the same time a committee was appointed to manage the concerns of this heterogeneous company; the purchases were directed to be made by contract, the goods to be conveyed to certain fixed stations, and there sold by retail to native merchants, whilst European agents were appointed to conduct the business of the society in different parts of the country.

It is not our business to inquire how far such an arrangement, preceded as it was by the buying up of all the salt in the market, did or did not redound to the honour of those concerned. The excuse set up by the individuals themselves was this, that the bare pay of the Company's servants was quite inadequate to the risk and responsibility of their situations, and that unless some avowed source of additional emolument were permitted, they would not fail to find out others, not less lucrative and infinitely more mischievous. The excessive preference shown to the members of council and other high functionaries likewise, was not without its palliating, if not its justificatory reasons. Clive and his committee contended that it was to the interest of the Company that the junior servants should be rendered incapable of earning more than a competency; because, were

the contrary the case, men would quit India in middle life, leaving the administration of affairs continually in the hands of boys. On the other hand, it was not less the interest of the Company to place within the grasp of long service, such prizes as would induce men of talent to pass more than their early youth in a state of honourable exile. Doubtless there was great justice in these pleas, though there is no denying that they came with a particularly bad grace from the persons who first reaped the benefits of their own enactments.

In addition to these very important arrangements, there were two points connected with the civil administration of Bengal, to which the committee at this period especially directed their attention. It had been hitherto customary to appoint members of council to the chiefships of the different factories established in the provinces, and the arrangement was found to produce the worst effects, both as regarded the interests of the natives and of the Company. With respect to the natives, whatever oppressions they might endure, the rank and influence of the local chiefs prevented them from bringing forward even a complaint; while the Company was deprived of the deliberative wisdom of men whose duty it was to superintend, not the affairs of any particular establishment, but the whole colony. Clive and his coadjutors put an end to this abuse. They declared that members of the council were, *ex officio*, incapable of accepting such appointments, and directed that they should thenceforth be given to senior merchants, or other experienced but inferior functionaries. But they

stopped not here. Finding that a large proportion of the senior servants had returned to Europe with overgrown fortunes, they refused to promote to vacancies in the council the youths that surrounded the presidency, and called in from Madras a certain number of gentlemen to fill up such situations as chanced to be vacant. As may be imagined, no transaction throughout Clive's public career gave greater umbrage than this, though none, perhaps, was more judicious; nor, under existing circumstances, more necessary.

Having thus remodelled the civil service of Bengal, Clive, in obedience to instructions conveyed to him in London, proceeded to introduce important changes into the constitution of the army. The sepoys, who had hitherto acted in undisciplined masses under their own officers, superintended, rather than commanded, by one or two Europeans, were regularly regimented. Each battalion was placed under the command of a captain, assisted by a due proportion of subalterns, and the whole army was divided into three brigades, or corps, to each of which a separate station was assigned. All this was agreeable enough, because it in no degree interfered with the emoluments of the English officers; but Clive's next measure roused a storm which the whole of even his energy was required to subdue. There has ever been made to officers in India, when employed in active service in the field, an allowance called *batta*, the design of which is to cover the many heavy expenses to which, in such a climate, they are liable. During the revolution which ended in the advancement of Meer Jaffier to the throne, that prince,

for the purpose of exciting the English to fresh exertions, doubled the batta, or field allowance, to all the officers. The custom had never since been omitted, for the Company, who, while the Nabob defrayed the expense, offered no objection to a measure so beneficial to their own servants, found themselves in some degree obliged to continue the practice after the revenues of the Soubahdarry passed into their hands. This was considered by the select committee to be an iniquitous tax upon their employers, and they issued a proclamation, that, on the 1st of January, 1766, the double batta should cease. But they had miscalculated both the degree of deference likely to be paid to their authority by men with arms in their hands, and the spirit of union which, at this period, prevailed among the European officers. A formidable mutiny was the consequence. The officers did not, indeed, endeavour to corrupt the minds of their men, nor raise their weapons against the civil power, but they entered into a strict agreement that they should all, on a certain day, send in their resignations, and refuse to serve again till the obnoxious edict was recalled. It was well for British India that, through the timidity, or treachery, or right feeling of some undiscovered member of the plot, intelligence of what was in progress reached Clive in good time. He acted on the occasion with his usual decision, by causing the chief movers in the conspiracy to be arrested, and, as the private soldiers remained true to their allegiance, no evil followed. A certain number of the ringleaders, and among others Sir Robert Fletcher, second in command, were tried, found guilty, and dismissed

the service, and the remainder, offering ample apologies for their misconduct, were restored to their rank. Thus ended an affair which promised at one moment to involve the British settlement in irretrievable ruin, for an army of sixty thousand Mahrattas was then assembled at Culpee, and it was uncertain to what point they intended to turn. But this cloud likewise dispersed without producing a storm, for these were the people who persuaded the Emperor to intrust himself to their care, and to return under their protection to Delhi. The movement was not agreeable to Clive, for he refused to give any countenance to it, and the issue to which it led has been sufficiently explained in another place.

During these transactions, the Nabob Nujeem ul Dowla died, and was succeeded by his brother, Syeff ul Dowla. The change was not felt by the English, who continued to act as if no such personage existed, collecting the revenues, superintending the administration of justice, and driving their own trade in a manner the reverse of agreeable to the native merchants. Nor in the important matter of the monopoly were the express commands of the Directors permitted to have any weight; that continued as it had done before, in spite of a peremptory condemnation of the whole system; because, forsooth, the Honourable Court could not be aware, when such prohibition was penned, of the real state of the provinces. It is true that Clive presented a minute to the select committee, in which he gave it as his opinion that a governor should be no party to commercial speculations, and it was declared in consequence that

he should resign his shares, receiving in lieu of them a commission of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues. But the practice of trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, for the exclusive benefit of the favoured few, was continued in defiance of more than one positive prohibition. At last, however, there arrived a despatch, dated the 17th of May, 1766, so peremptory and so decisive, that its contents could no longer be disregarded. The committee, therefore, after resolving that the monopoly should continue only till the shareholders could balance their accounts, decreed its abolition, and on the 14th of September, 1768, the society was formally dissolved.

On the 16th of January, 1767, Lord Clive declared his intention of returning immediately to England. As he had been empowered by the Directors either to restore the government to its ancient form, or to continue the select committee, according as the state of affairs might seem to render expedient, he without hesitation adopted the latter course. Mr. Verelst was nominated as his successor in the office of governor, Mr. Cartier, Colonel Smith, Mr. Sykes, and Mr. Beecher were appointed members of committee, and they all, on the 17th of February, (Clive having by that time set sail), entered upon the discharge of their high functions.

From this period up to the autumn of 1769, there is not much in the transactions of Bengal requiring particular notice by the historian. If we except a short quarrel with Nepal, which ended without any serious loss on either side, there was no war to occupy the attention of the government,

and the general affairs of the province went on, if not prosperously, at all events free from open commotion, or an approach to public suffering. At this period, it will be observed that, though the English took upon themselves the general administration of the Soubahdarry, they acted only in the name of the imbecile Nabob, and left all the minor duties of collection and police to the rajahs, zemindars, and other native chiefs. We are not prepared to say that these functionaries were, in every instance, guided by a strict attention to justice. Doubtless, many abuses existed, as they seem to have done both in India and other semi-barbarous countries in all ages. But the local gentry lived as their ancestors had done—the fields were well cultivated, the ryots appeared contented, and the revenues were regularly paid. By degrees, too, monopolies wore themselves out, and even the internal trade began to revive among the native merchants. It is true that, in the extravagant expectations which they had been led to form of the prodigious dividends to be received, the proprietors of India stock were disappointed. So far from being able to remit home a surplus, the local government found themselves frequently obliged to draw upon their employers; but to cover these bills, valuable investments were remitted, as well from China as from India and the islands. It may fairly be questioned, indeed, in spite of many acknowledged grievances, whether the condition of the people of Bengal has ever been, since they passed under the rule of the English, more prosperous than it was then.

Meanwhile the state of the Company's affairs

began to attract, in no common degree, the attention both of the public and legislature of England. A question naturally arose, whether it were lawful in a body of British merchants to conquer territory in any part of the world, except for the crown? and Parliament began to assert its right of interference with the revenues arising out of these conquests. It had been rashly voted at a Court of Proprietors, that the dividends should be advanced to twelve and a half per cent. This was a measure quite unauthorized by the condition of the Company's finances; and to meet the order, money was of necessity borrowed at an exorbitant interest. The transaction came to the knowledge of the legislature, and a bill was passed which directed that henceforth dividends should be voted only by ballot in a general court, and that no dividend above ten per cent. for the year should be made previous to the next session of Parliament. This act sufficiently established the right of the nation to interfere, at pleasure, with the proceedings of the East India Company; but for the present the question of the sovereignty of India was not pushed to a decision. It was, however, enacted, that the Company, in consideration of being permitted to enjoy the territorial revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, should pay annually into the public exchequer the sum of four hundred thousand pounds.

But it is now high time to revert to the important transactions of which the Deccan had again become the theatre.

CHAPTER IX.

Nizam Ally usurps the Soubahdarry of the Deccan—Invasion of the Northern Circars—Treaty with the English—War with Hyder—Hyder's early history—Condition of the Mahrattas—They enter Mysore—Make peace with Hyder—He is joined by the Nizam—Colonel Smith's successes—Hyder recovers his posts—Invades the Carnatic—Dictates the terms of peace.

We have more than once alluded, in the progress of this history, to the state of inquietude and alarm in which Salabat-jing, the Soubahdar, or, as he was called by the English, the Nizam of the Deccan, was kept by his brothers, Nizam Ally and Bassalut-jing. Even when supported by the power of M. Bussy's troops, the Nizam found it exceedingly difficult to repress their ambitious enterprises. Bussy no sooner abandoned him, than he fell an easy prey. On the 18th of July, Nizam Ally, who was by far the abler conspirator of the two, seized and cast him into prison; and invested himself with the full insignia of government, something more than eighteen months prior to the date of the Treaty of Paris, by which the titles of Salabat-jing had been acknowledged as lawful.

As there was nothing in this act which caused immediate alarm to the English, they paid to it no

very marked attention; but the year 1765 brought convincing proof that the new Nizam was not likely to prove the same peaceable neighbour as his predecessor. Early in the spring, he entered the Carnatic at the head of a numerous and disorderly force, which committed everywhere ravages more atrocious than, for the most part, marked the course even of an Indian invasion. The army under Colonel Campbell marched from Arcot to oppose him, and he retired into his own country without risking a battle.

In the meanwhile Clive, who had touched at Madras, in his voyage to Bengal, suggested the propriety of connecting the Company's possessions on the coast, by procuring for the Emperor Shah Alum a grant of the Northern Circars. The plan was approved of, and the grant solicited and obtained; upon which General Calliaud put himself at the head of a force, and proceeded to assert the Company's title. It does not appear that he met with any serious opposition from the Rajah's Polygars, and other local chiefs; but his movement gave extreme offence to Nizam Ally, who regarded the Circars as a portion of the Deccan, and acknowledged no right on the part of the emperor to dispose of them. He immediately suspended a war in which he was engaged with the Mahrattas, and made preparations to invade the Carnatic; while the Presidency, apprehensive of a contest with so powerful a prince, at a period when their exchequer chanced to be exhausted, made haste to open with him a negotiation. They gave up, with a degree of timidity not to be accounted for, the honourable station to which it was

in their power to advance; and consented to act a secondary part, though equally perilous with the first. It was accordingly agreed that they should hold of the Nizam the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore, and Mustephanagur, at an annual payment of five lacs of rupees, together with Chicacole and Guntoor, at two lacs each.. But, as the last-mentioned district belonged to Bassalut-jing in jaghire, it was stipulated that they should not enter into possession during his life-time. In return for these concessions, if, indeed, the term be properly applied, the Company promised to assist the Nizam, when called upon, with a body of troops; and they presented him with a gift of five lacs of rupees, which were of course provided by their dependent the Nabob.

It was not long before the improvidence of that article in the treaty, which pledged the Company to support the Nizam with troops, became apparent. There had existed for some time a great degree of jealousy between the sovereign of the Deccan and Hyder Ally; and the Company were now required to join their superior and ally, in a war with that successful usurper. As they retained an angry recollection of Hyder's hostility towards themselves, the Madras government desired not to avoid a contingency, to which they were in honour bound to yield,—and hence Colonel Smith was appointed to lead an army into Mysore, by a route of which Nizam Ally was permitted to make choice.

Of the origin of the kingdom of Mysore, some account has been given in a previous chapter of this work. It arose out of the ruins of the great

empire of Vijanuggur, and continued to be governed, till the usurpation of Hyder, by the descendants of its founder, who, professing the religion of the Hindoos, regulated the country according to the ancient usages of that singular people. Though occasionally subject to the exaction of tribute, and harassed from time to time by invasions both of the Mahrattas and of the Nizam, the Rajah of Mysore still maintained his independence; as far, at least, as a prince can be said to be independent, whose will was in everything controlled by an overbearing minister. He even carried his arms, with considerable success, against the chiefs by whom he was surrounded, till his principality became at last one of the most extensive, as well as one of the most powerful, among the nations south of the Nerbudda.

At the breaking out of the war between the French and English in 1749, the sceptre of Mysore was swayed by Chicki Rishen Raj, a weak prince, himself an usurper, and a mere tool in the hands of his ministers. There were two brothers, the elder named Doo Raj, a man of great ability and prudence, the younger Nunjeraj, chiefly remarkable for his violence, profligacy, and intemperance. We are not called upon to give any particular account of the uses to which they turned their influence. It is sufficient if we state, that they held the pageant Rajah in complete servitude; compelled him, at seventeen years of age, to marry a daughter of Nunjeraj, and made ready, so soon as the convenient moment should arrive, to remove the crown entirely from his head.

Nunjeraj, though eminently unfitted to command an army in the field, seems to have highly estimated his own military talents; and the success which, in 1746, attended one of his expeditions against the Polygars of Darapoor, confirmed him in his previous sentiments. He accordingly conducted a second armament, in 1749, against Dernhully, a strong fort, situated about twenty-four miles N.E. from Bangalore, and held by a chief who, by dint of courage, had for several years maintained his independence. The siege went on heavily, and might have ended in a discomfiture, but for the extraordinary hardihood of an unknown volunteer, who served as a private horseman, was ever the first in danger, and exhibited not less of cool discernment than of daring. The volunteer in question was Hyder; a man destined, within the space of a few years, to raise himself to a throne, and to offer to the armies of England by far the most obstinate resistance which they had as yet sustained from any native power.

Of the early history of this remarkable man it will be sufficient to give, in this place, a very general outline. His great grandfather, Mahomed Belole, came from Panjab into the Deccan, where he settled as a fakir, or Mohamedan saint, at Alund, a town in the district of Calburga, one hundred and ten miles N.W. of Hyderabad. The saint had two sons, Mohamed Ally and Mohamed Wellee; both of whom, when they arrived at man's estate, were sent abroad to push their fortunes; and they both took service as peons, or revenue soldiers, at Sera, where Futtee Mahomed,

the father of Hyder, was born. Futtee's father, Mahomed Ally, died, while Futtee was yet a child; upon which Mahomed Wellee seized his brother's property, and drove the widow and her infant from their home. They found shelter in the house of a Naick of Peons in Colar, who took compassion upon their destitute state, brought up Futtee, and, in due time, enrolled him as a peon in his own band. From a more obscure origin than this many an oriental adventurer has risen to the highest honours. Futtee was brave. He found various opportunities of evincing his bravery; and he was promoted by the Soubahdar of Sera to the rank of a Naick. He had attained to this dignity when he married a lady of good family, a Nerayet* from Curcan. She died soon after the marriage; but by her sister, whom, on the decease of his first Nerayet wife, he likewise married, he had two sons, Shabas and Hyder. Like their father, they were left orphans in their youth; but they found a generous protector in their maternal uncle, Ibrahim Sahib, who held a trifling command of peons, under the Killedar or governor of Bangalore.

Shabas gave early indications of talent and steadiness, and was soon advanced, under the Rajah of Mysore, to the command of two hundred

* The Nerayets are descendants from the family of Hashein, whom Hejaj Biu Yusuf, a monster of cruelty, compelled to abandon their homes in Irak. They came into India in the beginning of the eighth century; and, though scattered over many provinces, may still be distinguished by their fair complexions. They have, for the most part, studiously avoided intermarriages with any except their own stock.

horse and one thousand foot. Hyder, on the contrary, could never be persuaded even to read; but, till the age of twenty-seven, lived chiefly by the chase, to which he was passionately addicted. When, however, the siege of Dernhully was formed, and his brother's corps employed before it, Hyder offered to serve as a volunteer, and exhibited so many proofs of a natural genius for war, as to draw upon himself the attention of Nunjeraj. He was rapidly advanced from one dignity to another, and when the place fell, was put in charge of one of the gates, as a commander of fifty horse and two hundred infantry.

The breeze had now set decidedly in his favour, and Hyder took care, by judiciously trimming his sails, that it should not blow in vain. He expressed the most devoted attachment to Nunjeraj, at the same time that he seized every opportunity of further establishing his own character as a soldier; till, in 1755, when the progress of the English alarmed the minister for the safety of Dundegul, Hyder was appointed governor. All things went well with him. He collected troops of his own, carried on, though with singular address, a system of indiscriminate plunder, laid up a considerable treasure, and began to aim at higher offices; and though brought to the brink of ruin, by a defeat from Mahomed Issoof, when striving to obtain possession of Madura, he speedily recovered from the blow. At this juncture, the Rajah, uneasy under the state of thraldom in which he was kept, strove to cast off the yoke, and Hyder hastened to take advantage of the circumstance. With infinite skill, he managed to act the part of a

friend to all sides; and he received, as the reward of a reconciliation brought about by his intervention, the fort and district of Bangalore, with an assignment of all the revenues due to government.

A war with the Mahrattas, in 1759, presented this bold adventurer with fresh opportunities of distinguishing himself. He was now advanced to the station of commander-in-chief of all the Mysore armies, and saw that there stood but one man, his original patron Nunjeraj, between him and the supreme control of the kingdom. In no stage of his career is Hyder open to the charge of having been withheld by a sense of honour or gratitude from prosecuting his own wishes. Finding the Rajah well disposed to renew his attempts at emancipation, Hyder, on this occasion, cordially espoused the cause; and, by corrupting the troops of his rival, reduced him to the necessity of yielding without a struggle. Nunjeraj retired into private life with a pension, and Hyder became, what *he* had formerly been, the ostensible servant, and real master of the Rajah.

This revolution occurred in 1759, when Lally, hard pressed by the English, solicited the assistance of Mysore. Hyder readily promised his support; but took care, before he detached any portion of his army, to make himself master of Anical and Baramahl, two provinces, the command of which secured to him, at all seasons, an easy passage into Arcot. This done, he sent forward a corps, which obtained possession of the important fortress of Theagur, and made its way, as has already been related, to the French camp at Pondicherry. But the hopes of further conquest,

which the success obtained by this detachment over a body of English had excited, were not destined to be of long continuance. There suddenly arose, within Mysore itself, a storm, under which Hyder's fortunes had well-nigh suffered shipwreck, and which it required all his daring, and all his craft, to appease.

Hyder lay at this time, but slenderly attended, under the guns of the palace of Seringapatam, where he believed that his influence was so surely rooted, that no counter-interest could affect it. He was mistaken in this idea; for the widow of the late Rajah, and the mother, by adoption, of the present, had long beheld his ascendency with distrust; and conceiving that the present moment offered a favourable opportunity for putting an end to it, she induced the Rajah to hazard the attempt. A negotiation was in consequence opened with a body of Mahrattas, who chanced to be in a neighbouring province; but ere the expected assistance arrived, it was deemed advisable to commence operations. Hyder's camp was furiously cannonaded; and while he was yet in the dark concerning the circumstance to which the attack ought to be attributed, a corps of Mysoreans gradually encircled his detachment. There is little doubt that, but for the generosity of an individual to whom he had shown some kindness in other days, and who, in return, left a ferry-boat within his reach, Hyder must have perished on the spot. In that solitary wherry, however, he crossed the river after nightfall, and escaped alone, and covered with dust and sweat, to Bangalore.

Once more was this singular man thrown upon

the resources of his own genius; and they did not fail him. He recalled his troops from Pondicherry, bribed the Mahrattas to withdraw, and took the field with all the expedition possible. Nevertheless, he was still greatly inferior to his enemies, foremost amongst whom was the ex-minister Nunjeraj. In this emergency, Hyder adopted an expedient, which few except himself would have thought of, and which would have scarcely been productive of success, except against a man so weak and vain as Nunjeraj. To gain time for the spread of corruption in the hostile ranks, Hyder repaired, alone and unarmed, to the tent of his old patron. He made confession of his ingratitude, deeply deplored it, and, promising to devote his future life entirely to the service of Nunjeraj, prevailed upon that imprudent chief to receive him into favour. Meanwhile his emissaries were neither idle nor penurious in their intercourse with the royalists; whilst a number of forged letters, as if from his principal officers, were thrown in the way of Nunjeraj. They spoke of a conspiracy as about to burst forth, and so wrought upon the fears of Nunjeraj, that he precipitately fled from the camp. The rest of the story is soon told. Hyder's troops approached; they attacked the royalists, divided among themselves, and destitute of a leader, and defeated them with great slaughter. The result was, that Nunjeraj, again pensioned off with one lac of rupees annually, resigned his pretensions, while the Rajah was well pleased to give up to Hyder the whole of the revenue and management of the kingdom, on

condition of receiving a yearly allowance of three lacs.

From this moment Hyder governed Mysore with a degree of vigour to which it had not previously been accustomed. He extended the bounds of his principality likewise over Sera; he conquered the two Balipoors, wrested Goote from the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Row, received the submission of the polygars of Randroog, Horponelly, and Chittledroog, and overran, with extraordinary facility, the rich principality of Bidnore. From Bidnore, after fully establishing his authority, he passed on to Sovrida, which he speedily connected with Sera by the subjugation of Savanoor; and, passing the Werda, the Malpoorba, and Gutpoorba, stretched his northern frontier almost to the Kistna. But his successes in this direction soon drew upon him a power more formidable than any which he had yet encountered, and placed, at least for a moment, the whole fabric of his empire in jeopardy.

Though we have been repeatedly called upon to speak of the movements of the Mahrattas, we have attempted no connected history of that remarkable people, since the final consolidation of their power under the immediate successor of Sivajee. The truth, indeed, is, that such a history, if given, would contain little else than a narrative of predatory excursions, of frequent intestine quarrels, and of constant intrigues. The descendants of the great Sivajee, inheriting little of their ancestor's talents, sank, like many other native princes, into gradual insignificance, and the strength of the nation became parcelled out among a num-

ber of chiefs, whose obedience to their sovereign was, in most instances, little more than nominal*. Among these, the peshwa, or prime minister, necessarily enjoyed the most extensive authority. His situation, placing at his disposal both the person and revenues of the Maharajah, gave to him, in the eyes of the people at large, great importance, and his individual resources were, generally speaking, not inferior to those of any other of the great nobles or heads of tribes. It was not designed by Sivajee that the office should become hereditary, yet there is a tendency in all Hindoo institutions towards this point; and though, in various instances, a collateral branch succeeded in usurping the place of the direct line, the peshwas, like their masters, followed each other from father to son.

It was during the reign of Shao, the grandson of Sivagee, but the fourth in succession to the former, that the influence of the peshwa attained to its greatest height. The office was then held by Ballajee Bujee Rao, a man of great talents, great

* The most important of these Mahratta independencies were, 1st, that of the Bhonslas, which, together with Cuttach, and a part of Orissa, included the whole of the extensive province of Berar; 2d, that of the descendants of Pillagee Guicawar, which comprised the province of Guzerat; and 3d, those of Holkar and Scindia, both of whom held extensive possessions in Malwa, and in the districts adjacent to Berar and Oude. But besides these, there were many chiefs of no contemptible power, particularly Morari Row, who took an active part in the war of the Carnatic, and possessed Goote, with a considerable extent of territory on the Nizam's frontier. All these princes owed a species of nominal allegiance to the Maharajah, and would, when occasion required, unite their strength against a common enemy.

energy, and boundless ambition. As the Maharajah was childless, for his only son died early, the peshwah prevailed upon him, when on his deathbed, to execute a deed, which constituted the minister complete master of the Mahratta government, on condition of his perpetuating the rajah's name and keeping up the dignity of the house of Sivajee. This, again, the minister proposed to do through an infant, the grandson of Shoa's uncle, the same Ram Raj who, during the period of Shoa's detention at Delhi, had filled the Mahratta throne. All things fell out as Ballajee Bajee Rao could have wished, for the rajah no sooner expired than he caused the chief of his political opponents to be arrested, and, proclaiming Ramraja, entered, in 1750, upon the full exercise of his powers.

From this period up to the fatal battle of Punniput, (7th January, 1761,) the power of the Mahrattas continued to extend itself in all directions. They overcame large portions of Hindostan, held much of the Deccan in a species of vassalage, and exacted *chout* from the latitude of Delhi as far as that of Tanjore. They appear, moreover, not to have deviated in any degree from the policy of their great regenerator; for, while they equally abhorred all foreigners, they freely contracted alliances whenever an opportunity offered of bringing the swords of the Mohamedans against each other. Hence we find them in league sometimes with one nabob and sometimes with another, though uniformly exacting, not less from friends than from enemies, important advantages to themselves.

The great loss sustained in the battle of Punni-

put retarded, for a season, their ambition, and called into active operation a spirit of anarchy, of which the elements had long been prepared. It became doubly operative on the demise of Ballajee Rao, the able and experienced peshwa, and the accession to office of his son, Mahdoo Rao, a youth just entered into his seventeenth year. A species of civil war was the consequence; for when Nizam Ally took up arms to recover certain conquests wrested from him by Ballajee Rao, many of the chiefs served under his standard. Nor were affairs in a better plight after peace had been restored, and the Nizam withdrawn into his own country. Serious differences then arose between the young peshwa, and his uncle and guardian, Rugonath Rao, who exhibited a disposition to continue the system of restraint long after his nephew conceived that he was justified in so doing. A second intestine war ensued, which promised at one moment to shake the power of the nation to its base, and which was rendered comparatively innocuous only by the magnanimous behaviour of the youthful minister. He no sooner beheld the point towards which affairs were tending, than he voluntarily relinquished his pretensions, and sacrificed all schemes of personal ambition to the good of his country.

It was high time that the Mahrattas, if they desired to continue an independent people, should unite among themselves, for Nizam Ally, now Soubahdar of the Deccan, was again on his march towards Poonah. Unable to oppose him in the field, the Mahrattas hovered round his camp, harassed his columns, straitened them of supplies,

while they marched a light corps upon Hyderabad, with the intention of surprising it, or at least of recalling the Nizam to its defence. But they failed in effecting their object; for Hyderabad, secured by its works, set their unskilful efforts at defiance, and their own capital, taken possession of by the Moguls, was plundered and burned. It was in this juncture that intelligence of the invasion of the Northern Circars by the English was communicated to Nizam Ally. He instantly drew off his troops, and, being followed and defeated in a great battle, made peace with one enemy, in order that he might oppose, with the undivided strength of the Deccan, the progress of another. How this was done, and on what terms the English submitted to retain the Circars, has already been explained.

Meanwhile the Mahrattas had not been inattentive to the proceedings of Hyder Ally, whose early conquest of Sera, and more recent aggressions on the principality of Morari Row, excited great indignation throughout the whole community. The peshwa put himself at the head of a numerous army, and, in spite of a stout resistance, compelled Hyder to abandon Goote, and pay a sum of thirty lacs of rupees, as compensation for expenses. He then withdrew, leaving the Mysorean leisure to consolidate his newly-acquired dominions, and extend them still more widely by the conquest of Malabar. But the latter project was yet imperfectly realized, when information reached Hyder, which recalled him in all haste and great anxiety to Seringapatam. A new alliance had, it appeared, been contracted between the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and

the English, and the troops of all three were in motion by different routes for the invasion of Mysore.

Well aware of his inability to make effectual head against this formidable coalition, Hyder determined, if possible, to dissolve it. He began with the Mahrattas, who had already overrun a considerable portion of his territory, and by a promise to resign Sera, besides paying a sum of thirty-five lacs of rupees, he prevailed upon them to suspend all further hostile operations. Meanwhile, the Nizam, after wasting much precious time in preparations, advanced by a more eastern route, while an English army hastened to support him from the Carnatic. The corps moved towards Colar, where the peshwa lay encamped; but, instead of a friendly reception, the agents which they sent forward were treated with contempt, and the defection of one ally became apparent. This aptitude to desert a cause professedly espoused with zeal, was not, however, peculiar to the Mahrattas. Colonel Smith, who led the English contingent, had long suspected that the Nizam was in treaty with Hyder, and a short space of time sufficed to convince him that his suspicions were well founded. On the 11th of May, the Nizam moved in the direction of Bangalore; he invited Smith to join him there, and Smith, in spite of many scruples, obeyed; but the junction had scarce been effected ere he received positive information that the confederacy was dissolved. He withdrew sullenly and slowly towards his own frontier, leaving, at the earnest entreaty of the Madras government, which still affected to disbe-

lieve the Nizam's treachery, three battalions of infantry, with their cannon, in the Nizam's camp.

While the confederates were in march for the northward, a second corps of English was engaged in Barahmal, in feeble and ill-directed efforts to reduce that important province. Destitute of heavy artillery, and poorly supplied with ammunition, the officer in command soon discovered that the hill-forts, with which Barahmal abounds, were proof against his attacks. Having suffered some loss before Kistnagherry, he endeavoured to reduce it by blockade, an operation unavoidably tedious, and, in existing circumstances, highly impolitic. He had made but little progress, when the return of Colonel Smith, and the state of feeling among the confederates, were reported to him, upon which he broke up his camp, joined Smith, and marched with him to the eastern foot of the Ghauts.

There is some satisfaction in being able to detect, among so much perfidy and deceit, one solitary trait of chivalrous feeling in the conduct of the Nizam. The plans of that chief were no sooner matured, than he directed the English battalions, so incautiously left at his mercy, to depart; and he permitted them to gain several days' march in the direction of their friends, ere he threw off the mask. Then, however, he made haste to join Hyder, who had already changed his preparations from a defensive, into those necessary for offensive war, and early in August the new allies were in position on the ridges of the mountains. On the 25th of that month, hostilities began, by a surprise of Smith's cattle when grazing under a weak

guard, and the siege and capture of one of his fortified posts, called Caveripatam.

Though the Madras government indicated an extreme aversion to abandon all hope of reconciliation with the Nizam, it had not been inattentive to the repeated assurances of General Smith, that war was inevitable. Under a sort of involuntary conviction that the general's suspicions might prove correct, a body of troops were directed to advance from Trichinopoly to his support; and the fortified pagoda of Trinomalee, to the eastward of the first range of hills, was pointed out as a convenient spot at which the two corps might form a junction. By some unexplained oversight, Hyder, whose information never failed him, and who was perfectly well aware of this movement, neglected to throw himself between Smith's army and the pass of Changama; he continued, on the contrary, in his strong position, which he had rendered doubly inaccessible by works, as if satisfied that Smith's necessities would drive him to hazard an attack; nor could all the remonstrances of the Nizam prevail upon him to adopt a bolder policy. The consequence was, that Smith, after suffering severely during some days, began his retreat unmolested, and gained the entrance of the critical defile, ere an attempt was made to annoy him. But the Nizam's expostulations at length prevailed. Hyder followed the English with great rapidity, came up with their rear while yet entangled in the pass, and repeatedly charged it both with cavalry and infantry, but was repulsed in every attempt with a degree of steadiness deserving of the highest commendation. Nevertheless, the Mysoreans, though

worsted in the field, and driven back with the loss of two guns, continued to break in upon Smith's slender convoy of rice, and destroyed it. This misfortune, besides reducing the English to the necessity of continuing their retreat with increased precipitation, compelled them to seek shelter in Trinomalee.

Colonel Smith had been assured by the Madras government, that the Nabob had abundantly stored this place with every article of which his army was likely to stand in need. He found it totally destitute of cleared rice, and supplied with paddy, or rice in the husk, sufficient only for a few days consumption of his overwrought and famishing sepoys. Nevertheless, his necessities compelled him to retain possession of it as a *point d'appui* for the detachments, whenever they went out in search of provisions; while the confederates, closing round him, fortified a position, and evinced a disposition to force him to action. Smith was fortunate enough to discover large quantities of rice which had been hidden by the country people under ground. With this he recruited the strength of his followers; and being now reinforced by the junction of Colonel Wood's division, amounting altogether to ten thousand men, he determined to try the fortune of a battle. It took place on the 26th of September, and ended completely in favour of Smith, who captured sixty-four pieces of cannon in the action and the pursuit, and so thoroughly broke the spirit of Nizam Ally, that he began immediately to repent of his precipitate connexion with Hyder. Nor was this the only favourable result that accrued from the victory. It recalled from the immediate

vicinity of Madras, Hyder's son, Tippoo, who had been detached with a body of five thousand horse to ravage the open country, and which had plundered the very villas of the president and members of council, failing to capture the highest of these functionaries only by an accident.

The approach of the rainy season, and the scarcity of supplies, compelled Colonel Smith, soon after the battle of Trinomalee, to distribute his army into winter quarters. Hyder gladly availed himself of the opportunity to reduce several places of lesser importance in the vicinity of Ballaghaut; but from Amboor, to which he laid claim, and of which he expected to obtain possession through the treachery of the killedar, he was repulsed with loss. Meanwhile his ally Nizam Ally exhibited unequivocal symptoms of dissatisfaction at the issue of the campaign. Information coming in likewise of the descent of a British force from Bengal, which had penetrated, with not less conduct than daring, as far as Commanut and Wanagul, his alarm became excited to an extravagant pitch; and when Hyder again suffered defeat, in an attempt to cut off an entire detachment under Major Fitzgerald, he could no longer be restrained from opening a negotiation with Colonel Smith. It ended, after some delays, in a separate peace between the Nizam and the English, on terms highly favourable to the latter, though the reverse of oppressive to the former. Nor is it the least curious part of this transaction, that Hyder was not for an instant kept ignorant of the progress of the negotiation. His spies kept him regularly informed of the proceedings of his ally, yet he

dissembled his indignation, and permitted the traitor to depart in peace, with the remark, that the present was not a favourable moment for a union of the Mohammedan powers against the infidels.

At this critical juncture of his affairs, Hyder was suddenly alarmed by accounts of the rebellion of many of the chiefs of Malabar, and of a threatened landing on that coast of a force from Bombay. He left a division of cavalry to mask his movement, and circulating various reports of his intentions, suddenly marched with the main body of his army westward. Here he obtained several successes over both the English and the malcontents, expelled the former, and reduced the latter to obedience. He was absent on this expedition upwards of six months; yet such was the discipline which he had established both in his camp and among the officers of police, that Colonel Smith was not made aware of the true state of affairs till the moment for availing himself of it had passed away. Rumours, on the contrary, being industriously circulated that Hyder was marching to oppose the Mahrattas—that he had made a desert of his own frontier, and would, on the first alarm, return to defend it, both Smith and the Madras government felt themselves at a loss how to act. The former, indeed, conceived that, under such circumstances, it would be madness to abandon his supplies; the latter were clearly of opinion that Mysore ought to be invaded; and Smith, being naturally of a pliable and easy temper, gave way. A series of trifling operations followed, in which a few petty forts were reduced, and the heads of the great mountain-passes won; but the troops

employed were too scanty to make the most of their conquests, or to act efficiently after they had been acquired. Thus was the entire summer wasted, till Hyder, after enriching himself with the confiscations with which he chastised the rebels in Malabar, returned early in August, to give a new character to the war.

We cannot pretend to offer any connected narrative of the complicated, but petty manœuvres which attended the renewal of active operations. On the part of the English these led almost invariably to disasters, the consequences of faulty arrangements, and of gross incapacity in execution; on the part of Hyder they consisted principally in harassing his enemies by frequent attacks, and cutting off in detail the many detachments which had been made from their main army. It has been stated that, in the first campaign, Barahmal was reduced, and the summits of the Ghauts occupied; it was the design of the English to open the second with the capture of Bangalore. But their great anxiety to secure the conquests already gained, rendered this enterprise totally impracticable. With a strange ignorance of the first principle of his art, Colonel Wood, on whom, after the return of Colonel Smith to Madras, the command devolved, thought fit to occupy a number of untenable posts, detached from one another, in no case less than ten, in some cases as much as forty miles. Into each of these he threw one, two, or three companies, and the consequence was that Hyder had only to march against them, in order to reduce them in detail. But glaring as this error was, it formed but a single link in a

whole chain of blunders. On one occasion Colonel Wood permitted himself to be attacked unawares, and escaped absolute destruction only through the extraordinary presence of mind of a wounded officer, Captain Brookes. On another, the whole of his baggage, with his battering guns, were taken, by the surprise of a mud fort into which he had incautiously thrown them. Yet palpable as the incapacity of this gentleman was, it were an act of injustice not to attribute some share of the disgrace of the campaign to the Madras government. Even when the army was led by Smith, a man prompt in action, though somewhat too ready to yield his own judgment to that of others, they did their best to render it inefficient, by sending into camp two members of council, with full powers to regulate the conduct of the general, whilst all arrangements of supply, as well as the regulation of the conquered provinces, were especially intrusted to Mohamed Ally. Never, since the days of Marlborough and his field-deputies, had a more impolitic measure been devised; and as the talents of Marlborough were not, on the present occasion, opposed to it, all the evils, of which it was the natural source, occurred.

So early as the previous September, Hyder had endeavoured to negotiate a peace, when his advances were met with haughtiness, and his proposals rejected. It was now the turn of the Madras government to make overtures, which were treated with great respect and manly firmness. But Hyder's views not corresponding with those of the English emissary, the negotiations led to nothing; and, after an armistice of twelve days'

continuance, the war was renewed. It was now that the Mysorean gave proofs of those extraordinary talents for war which have ranked him among the first generals, not of India only, but of his age. He descended the Ghauts at points where least of all he was expected; he ravaged the Southern Carnatic in all directions; and, while his own people were abundantly supplied, caused his enemies, though acting in their own country, to suffer the extremity of want. Even Smith, whom the government restored to his command, and left free from the annoyance of field-deputies, though he repeatedly baffled and crossed him in his designs, found it impracticable to bring on a battle. In this manner the two armies manœuvred during three months, the route of the Mysoreans being traced by the smoke of burning villages, and the absolute desolation which they left in their rear. Still the capital appeared to be safe; for, in addition to Smith's force, there was an army of reserve intended especially to cover Madras, and of this, as the means of ensuring their own personal safety, the council determined to keep the direction in their own hands. Nevertheless all their caution proved useless. Hyder, after threatening Congeveram, suddenly fell off to the westward, and conducted the movement with such skill, as to draw after him both divisions, Colonel Smith pressing hard upon the rear of his army, and Colonel Laing, the officer in command of the reserve, following at an interval of one day's march. Such was the precise object which Hyder desired to accomplish. Having carried them upwards of one hundred and thirty miles from the capital, he

suddenly quitted his own army, which he directed to continue its route towards the Ghauts, and at the head of five thousand cavalry and one thousand infantry, unincumbered even with cannon, threaded his way back upon Madras. On the morning of the third day he reached St. Thomas's Mount, within five miles of the city. There was no longer a disinclination on the part of the English authorities to accept peace, even at his dictation. They sent out to him M. Du Prè, a plenipotentiary chosen by himself; and on condition that a mutual restitution of conquests should take place, and that the contracting parties should agree to assist each other in all defensive wars, an end was put to the contest.

It is impossible to review the evils attending this memorable war, without receiving a lively impression of the extraordinary talents displayed by Hyder, both as a diplomatist and an officer. He took the field with an army superior both in discipline and equipment to any which an Indian prince had ever before commanded; and as the entire merit of rendering it so rests with him, so was his management of it, when called upon to act, worthy of our unqualified commendation. Not ignorant that his followers, though drilled and armed after the European fashion, were wanting in that stubborn courage which seems peculiar to Europeans, he rarely committed them, however superior in point of numbers, in open fight with the English; or if he did, it was invariably under circumstances which seemed to promise more than a compensation for that deficiency. But in the rapidity of his movements—in the excellence

of his intelligence — in the facility with which he subsisted his own troops, while his adversaries were starving—in these, which constitute, after all, the most difficult lessons in the art of war, he showed himself a perfect master. It is true that he enjoyed many and great advantages. His cavalry was numerous, active, well organised, and enterprising; whereas the English could muster only a single squadron of European dragoons, and the Nabob's horse were useless : but this fact, so far from taking away from his renown, only adds to it. The same materials from which to create an efficient cavalry existed on both sides : it was the fault of the English system that none served under it.

With respect again to his merits as a statesman, these are exhibited, not only in the pacification which he actually obtained, but in the whole series of his negotiations, from the commencement to the close of hostilities. When the English endeavoured to treat with him on a previous occasion, he received their envoy, Captain Brook, with marked respect; and, though in the midst of a career of conquest, advanced no demands indicative of the presumption which usually attends success. He blamed the English for their unworthy submission to a powerless puppet such as Mahomed Ali; pointed out to them how much it would redound to their own honour were they to set him aside; made a tender of his own alliance on terms of perfect equality, and avowed that he did so, because he believed that the arrangement would prove advantageous to both parties. He never pretended to conceal, that it was necessary for him to connect himself

either with the English or with the Mahrattas; he stated that he would greatly prefer the former to the latter; but added, that if the English rejected him, he must, as a matter of self-preservation, throw himself into the arms of the Peshwah. From these views he never deviated; and the defensive alliance into which he enveigled M. Du Prè as completely realized them as if a different form of words had been employed. It was of an attack from the Mahrattas that he had just cause to be afraid; he therefore gained his end so soon as he had bound the English to assist him in repelling it.

Hyder has been accused, and with too much justice, of violating the terms on which many forts capitulated during the war. He did so; but unfortunately he found in one of the forts which fell, an English officer, a Captain Robinson, who had given his parole not long previously, and been set at liberty. Had Hyder put the individual to death, and kept faith with his companions, the proceeding would have been unquestionably more to his honour; but let us not forget, that Hyder received his education in a school where nice principles of honour are not recognized. Besides, he had too much reason to believe that the culprit was not unsanctioned in his guilt by the government under which he acted. But, however this may be, the instances in question appear as exceptions rather than as the rule, for Hyder is acknowledged, in his general character, to have been as ostentatious of good faith, as he was prompt in seizing a pretence for its violation.

If we look again to the conduct of the English,

we shall find it characterised by a mixture of arrogance and incapacity, such as can rarely be paralleled. Of Colonel Smith, military historians speak respectfully. They describe him as a man cool in danger, and sagacious in meeting an emergency; but the organization of his army (for which he was not accountable) must be admitted to have been as defective, as the system followed in directing it was absurd. Colonel Smith, moreover, laboured under a weakness, destructive, in a great degree, of almost every other military talent. He was apt to follow the advice of others, even when his own better judgment stood opposed to it; and hence, in the very commencement of his career, he fell into errors, such as he never afterwards found an opportunity to redress. Of the appointment of field-deputies, again, with all its consequences, it is unnecessary to say anything; while the haughtiness with which Hyder's early attempts at pacification were repelled, could be equalled only by the cowardice which permitted him to dictate his own terms at last. The truth however is, that, as yet, the English in India neither knew their own strength, nor were aware of the proper means of exerting it; and hence they were as easily depressed by misfortune, no matter from what source it might originate, as they were apt to be elated by success.

The preliminaries of peace were no sooner signed, than Hyder returned to his army, which he laid up for refreshment in Bangalore, while the English applied themselves to remedy the evils which the invasion of their territory had occasioned.

CHAPTER X.

State of affairs in Bengal—Changes in the Company's government by the act of 1773—Hastings's early administration—View of the system of internal administration—The emperor returns to Delhi—The Mahrattas threaten Rohilcund—The Vizier and the English oppose them—The Vizier turns his army against the Rohillas—Allahabad and Corah sold to him by Hastings—The Rohillas subdued.

While these important matters were in progress under the Presidency of Fort St. George, the more northern provinces experienced a total exemption from external danger and internal anarchy. Several changes occurred, it is true, in the persons of the nominal rulers. In 1766, the Nabob, Nizam ul Dowla, died, and was succeeded by his brother, Syeff ul Dowla, a youth sixteen years of age; while, in 1770, Syeff being attacked by the small-pox, made way, in his turn, for the elevation of a brother still younger, Mubarick ul Dowla. Such revolutions, however, had long ceased to affect, in any degree, the tranquillity of the provinces. Indeed, it was only by the arrival of a despatch from the Court of Directors, requiring the pecuniary allowance of the minor Soubahdar to be curtailed, that either the natives or the English were made to feel that the musnud had

received a new occupant. With respect again to the affairs of the Company, these continued to be conducted almost after the fashion which had characterized their administration for some time previously. There came out, from time to time, summary directions that the inland trade, especially in salt, betel, and tobacco, should be left to the natives; and the local government, after exercising ample delay, saw reason to submit; but to the repeated demands for increased treasure, and the repeated protestations against drafts upon the court at home, no attention was paid. Thus passed the three years, in which Mr. Verelst, Lord Clive's successor, filled the president's chair; and when he resigned it, in December, 1770, to Mr. Cartier, profound tranquillity prevailed throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

Meanwhile, the anomalous relation in which the Company stood towards both the Government and people of Great Britain, began to excite no slight share of attention in all circles. Notice has already been taken of the measures which parliament esteemed it necessary to adopt, for the purpose of establishing a right of control over both the revenues and territorial management of India; nor did it appear that the legislature was inclined to limit its interference with the period of time specified in the act. Before the 1st of February, 1769, arrived, the affairs of India became again a subject of Parliamentary investigation; and it required all the management of the Company, which had now become an influential body in the community, to secure their chartered privileges, or what they considered as such, against

invasion. In April of the same year, however, a bill was passed, which secured to the Company a further enjoyment of the revenues of India during five years longer, on condition that the Company would continue the contribution to the state of 400,000*l*., and export annually articles of British manufacture to the amount of 300,000*l*., and upwards. Nevertheless, the perfect right of Parliament to interfere in the regulation of the Company's dividends was asserted; and the amount, to be paid under circumstances particularly noticed, was specified. To all this the Company submitted, if not with perfect cheerfulness, at least without repining. But the period was approaching when still greater sacrifices than these behoved to be made. The Court, indignant at the overthrow of those hopes of wealth, which they, in common with the proprietors, had of late been taught to encourage, determined on sending out a commission for the purpose of inquiring on the spot; and had actually named the individuals who were to compose it, when, to their amazement, the government interposed. It was asserted by the minister, that the Company possessed no right to effect any change whatever in the government of the provinces; and that, if such were intended, it rested with him to order it, as well as to take a share in it, when arranged. Nor was this all. In reply to an application from the Court for the assistance of a squadron of king's ships, it was required that the commodore should be vested with full powers of acting as the representative of his sovereign in all transactions between the Company and the native princes, which had any reference to mari-

time affairs. Against both propositions the Court of Directors warmly protested; and, in the end, they so far prevailed, that a few frigates were furnished on their own terms, and the commission was permitted to proceed. It never reached its destination, for of the ship which conveyed its members, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, no tidings have been heard up to the present hour.

For some time after the grant of the Dewanny, the proprietors persisted in believing that the promises held out to them by Clive and others, though slow in attaining their accomplishment, would eventually be fulfilled. Acting upon this persuasion, they continued from year to year, in defiance of an exhausted treasury, and constant reports of poverty from abroad, to increase the amount of the dividends, raising them gradually from six to ten, and from ten to twelve and a half per cent. These desperate proceedings hurried the affairs of the Company to a crisis. On the 8th of July, 1772, on an estimate of cash for the next three months,—in other words, on an estimate of the payments falling due, and of the cash and receipts applicable to meet them,—there appeared a deficiency to the full amount of 1,293,000*l.* On the 15th of July, the Directors were reduced to the necessity of applying to the Bank for a loan of 400,000*l.* On the 29th of the same month, they solicited an additional loan of 300,000*l.*, of which the bank would advance only two-thirds; and on the 10th of August, the chairman and deputy-chairman waited upon the minister, to represent that the very existence of the Company

depended on its borrowing at least one million from the public. It required but some such explanation as this to excite the loudest clamour throughout the country; while the minister, nothing loath, hastened to recommend to the legislature, that it should interpose "with new laws for the supplying of defects or remedying disorders" in a branch of the national affairs, which, "as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, was peculiarly liable to abuses, and exposed to danger."

The recommendation just quoted, formed part of the king's speech, with which the session of 1772 was opened; and in November of the same year, a committee was formed, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the Company's affairs. In due time a report was delivered in, which was almost immediately followed by the introduction of a bill, so framed, as in a great degree to remodel the constitution of the Company's government both at home and abroad. It was enacted, "1st. That the Court of Directors should, in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years. 2nd. That the qualification-stock should be 1000*l.* instead of 500*l.*; that 3000*l.* should confer two votes, and 6000*l.* three votes. 3rd. That, in lieu of the Mayor's Court, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a supreme judge, and three puisne judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction

of the subjects of England, their servants and dependents, residing within the Company's territories in Bengal. 4th. That a governor-general and four councillors should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences should occur, the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was instructed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the Directors; who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of these despatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinances which they should have made; and these, if disapproved by his Majesty, were to become null and void. A subsidiary clause to this bill provided, that the first governor-general and councillors should be appointed by parliament, and hold their offices for five years, after which the right of patronage should revert to the Directors, though still subject to approval by the crown.

Great was the indignation both of the Directors and the proprietors, when the contents of the proposed bill became public. They exclaimed against the measure as destructive of all vested rights; they sent in numerous petitions against it, and prevailed upon various corporations—among others, upon that of the city of London itself—to join them in their remonstrances. But opposition availed not. The act passed both houses by great and decisive majorities; it received the royal assent, and became a portion of the law of the land. The arrangements concerning the business

at home were appointed to commence on the 1st of October, 1773; those which concerned the foreign administration, on the 1st of August, 1774.

Such is a brief outline of the first measure adopted to ensure, on the authority of the British legislature, the blessings of an efficient government to his Majesty's subjects in India. It would serve little purpose were we to criticise very minutely a system which has long ago suffered, in all its essential points, extensive modification; but no unprejudiced person can, we presume, turn to it even a careless eye, without being struck with its excessive absurdity and unfitness. Of the changes effected in the constitution of the Court of Directors, and the raising of the qualification of vote from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, we are not disposed to say anything in condemnation. There is little doubt that a ruling body, which depends from year to year for existence upon the caprice of constituents generally less enlightened than itself, will be more apt to attend to the known wishes of their constituents in its system of management, than to the calls of abstract duty, or the dictates of reason. In such a corporation as the East India Company, indeed, this seems to be particularly the case; and hence the clause, which secured to the Directors a continuance in office for the space of four years, cannot be classed among the provisions which we have designated as absurd. So also with respect to the confining of the right of vote to the possessor of 1000*l.* stock and upwards, the measure, if it demands not our positive approbation, seems scarcely deserving of censure. No doubt the owner of 500*l.* may be quite as en-

lightened as the owner of 1000*l.*, and equally capable, in ordinary cases, of exercising with discretion the right of franchise; but experience has shown, that where the question of dividend is at issue, the voter upon a small capital is always more unreasonable than the voter upon a large. On this ground we are far from objecting to the enactment, which withdrew the chief management of the Company's affairs from a class of persons, in whose eyes every consideration may be presumed to have been light, when compared with the increase of their individual income. But to the arrangement which trusted the minister, on whom no responsibility lay, with an absolute control over the conduct of the Indian government, it is impossible to apply other terms than those of unqualified condemnation. Its immediate consequence was, that from henceforth the favour and aid of the British cabinet became indispensable to the governor-general; and as there was but one mode of securing this, the principal patronage of India came into the minister's hands. He needed but to recommend some friend of his own to office, and the governor-general, if he desired to retain the countenance of the government, must, however little qualified the individual might be, attend to the recommendation. In like manner, it seems difficult to account for the introduction of that clause into the bill, which established a supreme court of judicature for the administration of English law, in a country where the habits, manners, religious feelings, and local customs of the people, were all violently opposed to the spirit of that law. Yet even this was not the full ex-

tent to which the evil rose. The powers of the supreme court were so inadequately defined, that it remained a matter of serious doubt whether they did not absolutely supersede those of the government itself; and a door was in consequence opened for contests between the rival authorities, which had well-nigh shaken to its base the whole fabric of the Anglo-Indian empire.

We have said that the right of appointing the first governor-general, as well as the members of council under the new act, was reserved to the crown. The individuals nominated were, Mr. Warren Hastings as governor-general, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, Mr. Barwel, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis, as members of council. It so happened that Mr. Hastings was already at the head of the government of Bengal, to which, on the retirement of Mr. Cartier, he had, in the beginning of 1772, succeeded. The other gentlemen lost no time in proceeding to the scene of their labours, whither, in 1744, they were followed by the new judges. These were Elijah Impey, Esq., chief justice; Robert Chambers, Esq., Stephen C. Le Maistre, Esq., and John Hyde, Esq., puisne judges. They took leave of the Court of Directors on the 28th of March, with assurances that they would use their utmost endeavours to render their appointments serviceable to the Company. How far these assurances were attended to in practice, will be best seen in the sequel.

We have now arrived at a stage of our history, when it becomes necessary to a right understanding of that which is to follow, that the reader should be put in possession of a general outline of

the system of internal management hitherto pursued in the provinces. We need scarcely observe, that the great object towards which the attention of the local authorities was directed, was the realizing of such a revenue as should satisfy the extravagant expectations of the holders of India stock. To this, indeed, every other consideration was held to be subservient; indeed there never came a despatch from home, which contained not repeated intimations that the Courts were highly dissatisfied with the miserable issue of so many promises. That the local authorities were not, in all instances, so attentive to the interests of their employers as they might have been, we have already stated. Nevertheless, they were not backward in adopting new plans as often as those hitherto in use proved inefficient; and the following may be taken as a brief summary of these changes, from the assumption of the Dewanny, down to the year 1774.

It has been stated elsewhere, that the Dewan's authority over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, was conferred in perpetuity on the East India Company by a firman, or grant from the emperor, in August, 1765. The Nabob of Bengal, Nujin ul Dowla, had already, as the condition of his succeeding to the musnud, on the decease of his father, Meer Jaffier, agreed to intrust the administration of the Soubahdarry to the management of a Naib, or deputy, appointed by the governor in council. By a second treaty, dated 30th of September, 1765, the Nabob recognised the grant of the Dewanny to the Company, and consented to accept a fixed stipend for

the maintenance of himself and his household; while any further expenses which might be found necessary for the support of his dignity were, within certain limits, to be disbursed through the deputy chosen by the English government. There were at this time two influential natives, by name Mahomed Riza Khan and Shed Shetab Roy, to whom the office of Naib was respectively intrusted. Of these, the former, residing at Moorshedabad, administered the affairs of Orissa and of so much of Bengal as was not included within the Zemindarry of Calcutta, the twenty-four Pergunnahs, and the ceded districts Burdwan, Mednapore, and Chittagong; whilst the latter, fixing his station at Patna, superintended the management of Bahar.

Though Lord Clive took his place, in 1776, as Dewan, or collector for the Mogul, and, in concert with the Nabob, who acted as Nazim, or supreme magistrate, opened the courts of revenue at Mootyghul and Moorshedabad; and though the civil and military power of the country, as well as the resources for maintaining it, were thus formally assumed on the part of the East India Company, it was not thought prudent, either by the Court of Directors or the local government, to vest the immediate management of the revenue, or the administration of justice, in the hands of their European servants. The degree of knowledge generally possessed by the European servants of the Company at that time was not, indeed, such as to sanction such a step; the government, therefore, contented themselves with stationing a resident at the Nabob's court, who

should exercise a general control over the conduct of Mahomed Reza Khan; while to the chief of the factory at Patna, similar powers were granted of inspection and check in the proceedings of Shetab Roy.

In this state things continued till the month of August, 1769, very little to the satisfaction either of the Company or their servants; when, the receipts falling infinitely short of general expectation, it was resolved that an immediate interference on the part of Europeans was necessary. Supervisors were accordingly appointed, to control, in different parts of the country, the natives employed in collecting the revenue and administering justice; and councils, with superior authority, were established, in the year following, both at Moorshedabad and Patna. But the duties intrusted to the supervisors extended further than this. They were instructed to obtain a summary history of the provinces; to inquire into the state, the produce, and the capacity of the lands; to ascertain the amount of the revenues, the cesses or arbitrary taxes, and of all demands whatsoever which might be made upon the cultivators; the manner of collecting them, and the date of their origin; and to make themselves acquainted with the regulations which affected commerce, and the system upon which justice was administered. There is no longer room to doubt, that, in some important particulars, the supervisors were themselves mistaken; but the general report, as far as regarded the existing condition of the country, was as correct as it was melancholy. They represented that "the revenue system was, throughout, utterly corrupt; that

the Nazims (the chief officers of state) exacted what they could from the Zemindars, and great farmers of the revenue, whom they left at liberty to plunder all below, reserving to themselves the privilege of plundering them in their turn, when they were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoil of the country;" whilst of the administration of justice, it was stated, "that the regular course was everywhere suspended; but that every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decisions." This was a very deplorable account of the condition of a country, from the superiority over which so many benefits had been anticipated; yet it was scarcely different from what might have been expected to arise out of the many wars and revolutions to which it had recently been subjected.

Had the Court of Directors been possessed, at this early period, of even a moderate acquaintance with the ancient usages of India, it is by no means improbable that, glaring as these evils were, they might have been effectually remedied. By instructing their servants to restore, in the first place, vigour to a government which had become enfeebled in all its departments, through the weakness of its head, they would have made the best preparation for such changes as the course of events was likely to force upon them; but this they neglected to do. Attributing the falling off in the revenue to the extreme corruption of the native character, they assumed that the corruption in question was irremediable, and hence that they themselves should never be able to realize the wealth which was their due, till the

entire management of affairs had passed into other hands. In a letter to the president and council, bearing date the 28th of August, 1771, it was accordingly declared that the Company had determined "to stand forth as dewan, and, by the agency of their own servants, to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenue." Never was so gigantic a change in the arrangements of any portion of human society brought about with such a total absence of care and consideration. It was imagined in Leadenhall-street, that the determination here expressed would merely supersede one set of revenue officers by another; whereas, it led to an innovation by which the whole property of the country, and along with it the administration of justice, was placed upon a new foundation.

The radical misconception which led to many important errors exhibited in the legislation of this period was that which swayed men relative to the proprietary right in the soil. Because they beheld the agents of the native government relieved from all the restraints to which they had anciently been subject, and wringing from the poor ryots by far the greater proportion of the fruits of their labour—an opinion almost universally prevailed, that the sovereign was the sole landed proprietor in India, and that, though he might have permitted his collectors to retain an hereditary interest in the collections, he was legally authorised to dispose of the lands in any manner which should to himself appear most beneficial. Again, the exercise of those judicial functions, which belonged to the office of zemindar, and for which,

during the vigour of the Mogul government, the zemindar was held strictly accountable, appeared, in the eyes of our countrymen, who beheld it only when fallen into abuse, as a wanton usurpation of authority. They could not understand by what law, or upon what principles of equity, the receiver of the sovereign's rents should also be the judge in cases of dispute, arising out of the conduct of his own officers; and still less were they able to comprehend whence the magisterial jurisdiction of this merely revenue officer could be derived. They determined to interfere effectually for the redress of so many abuses, and in doing so they revolutionised the entire order of society.

The first proceeding of the council, which met on the 14th May, 1772, in obedience to the instructions recorded above, was to declare the office of naib-dewan abolished; and in its place a board of revenue, consisting of the president and council, an accountant-general, with assistants, was established at Calcutta. To the same place were the khalsa, or exchequer, and the treasury, heretofore supported at Moorshedabad, commanded to be removed; whilst to the former a full establishment of native officers, such as the voluminous and important business appertaining to it required, was appointed. This was a sweeping measure enough, and when the original duties demanded of the governor and council are taken into account, it will probably be esteemed the reverse of a prudent one; but it was a specimen of absolute wisdom, when contrasted with other changes to which it formed a prelude. Having instituted some inquiries into the nature of the

various imposts to which the ryots were subject, the government, with the best possible intentions, abolished all such as appeared to be most vexatious and oppressive. So far no blame can be attached to them; but the act with which they followed up this deed of grace has rarely been equalled in point of iniquity under any government in ancient or modern times. It was resolved to let the whole lands of the provinces to the best bidders—yet to grant to the ryots leases for five years, on the face of which every exaction to which they were liable should be explicitly stated.

Had the notion which then prevailed relative to the nature of landed property been correct—had it been true that the governments of India possessed a proprietary right in the soil, and could therefore by law dispose of their own to tenants at will, the adoption of a system to which all the prejudices of the people stood opposed, would have been, to say the least of it, impolitic. But when it is further considered that there was not a field in Bengal, Bahar, or Orissa which was not the property of some owner, and that these very owners were, in nine cases out of ten, its occupants and cultivators, the justice of a law which went to dispossess them of this right, in order that their rulers might enjoy a greater amount of land tax, need not be discussed. The measure was as arbitrary as it was cruel, and it led to nothing. It was to no purpose that the supervisors were henceforth denominated collectors, that they were furnished with native assistants, and invested with authority to receive the taxes from the payers. Neither this nor the avi-

dity with which farmers came forward to bid, secured to the Company any increase of revenue; for these, offering more than they found themselves able to discharge, soon fell into arrears, and the receipts proved as little satisfactory as they had been previous to the change of system.

Equally unsatisfactory in all its points were the arrangements entered into for the reform of those abuses in the administration of justice, of which the supervisors complained. These consisted in the erection of two courts in each provincial division, or collectorship, one by the name of Dewanny, or civil court, for the cognizance of civil causes; the other named Foujedarry, or criminal court, for the trial of crimes and misdemeanours. Over the civil court, the collector presided on the part of the Company, in their capacity of king's dewan, where he was attended by the provincial native dewan, and the other officers of the collector's court. To this jurisdiction were referred all disputes concerning property, real or personal; all causes of inheritance, marriage, or caste; all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts, partnerships, and demands of rent. Nevertheless, to facilitate the course of justice in trivial cases, the determining disputes which involved property to less amount than ten rupees, was still left to the head farmer of the Pergunnah, within which the disputants dwelt. In the criminal court, again, sat a cauzy, a moofty, with two moolavies, to expound the Mohammedan law, and to determine how far it had been violated; though it was the business of the collector in person to see that witnesses were duly called, and that the proceedings were conducted throughout agree-

ably to justice and equity. Appeals from the decisions of these tribunals were allowed to two superior courts established at the seat of government, one under the denomination of Dewanny Sudder-adawlut, or chief court of civil judicature; the other, of Nizamut Adawlut, or chief court of criminal justice. The former consisted of the president and members of council, assisted by the native officers of the *Khalsa*, or exchequer; and in the latter, a chief officer of justice presided *, who was assisted by the head cauzy and moofty, and three eminent moolavies. "Over this court, however, a control was vested in the president and council, similar to what was exercised by the collectors in the provinces, in order that the Company's administration, in the character of king's dewan, might be satisfied that justice, so essential to the welfare and safety of the country, might not be perverted or tainted by corruption †."

The additional labour imposed upon the governor-general, by rendering him a final court of appeal, in all cases, criminal as well as civil, was felt by Mr. Hastings to be so oppressive, that, within eighteen months after the new order of things had been introduced, it again underwent modification. The office of naib nazim was restored, and vested in Mohamed Reza Khan, the same individual who formerly exercised it, and the seat of supreme justice was, as a necessary consequence, once more established at Moorshedabad. In like manner, the gradual decrease of the re-

* He was called the Nazim, and derived his appointment from the president.

† Fifth Report.

venue, under European management, led to the recall, in 1774, of all the collectors, and the transference of their authority to natives, bearing the general designation of Amils, who were made responsible to one or other of the provincial councils, of which six were established, for the superintendence of the collections at Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Dinagepore, and Patna. In the native department, on the other hand, which, like every other, had been new-modelled, no material alteration took place. The preservation of the peace of the country, instead of depending upon zemindars, and heads of villages, had been intrusted to a class of officers, called Foujedars, who, with a certain number of armed followers, took charge each of a specified district. It continued to be thus managed, subject only to one modification, the foujedars being latterly made dependent upon the naib nazim at Moorshedabad; whereas, when first appointed, they reported to the supreme government at Calcutta. Such was the order of things which prevailed at the period to which our narrative has, as yet, been brought down; an order that, while it unhinged the entire fabric of native society, was far from producing those results which the sanguine temperaments both of the Directors and the local authorities had anticipated.

During the progress of these great changes in the internal government of Bengal, a variety of events befel among the surrounding states, which opened out a new field of enterprise and ambition to the servants of the Company. The condition of his capital, which Abdallah Shah had just eva-

cuated, and which, under the prudent administration of Nujeeb ad Dowla, the Rohilla chief, enjoyed profound repose, inspired the Emperor Shah Alum with a strong desire to return, and he repeatedly applied to the English for such an escort as would enable him to do so without hazard. Why Mr. Verelst should have set his face decidedly against the proceeding, has never been satisfactorily explained; but the consequence of his backwardness was to drive the Emperor into the hands of the Mahrattas, by whom, as has been described in another volume, he was carried triumphantly to Delhi. Of the result of this unforeseen measure, as far as Shah Alum was individually affected by it, the reader is already aware; it remains for us to describe certain other contingencies which may be said to have arisen out of it.

The campaign of the Emperor with his Mahratta allies against Zabita Khan, the son and successor of Nujeeb ad Dowla, naturally struck the whole of the Rohilla chiefs with alarm. Conscious of their own inability to oppose the progress of this mighty torrent, they endeavoured to negotiate an alliance with the Soubahdar of Oude, to whom the establishment of the Mahrattas upon his frontier was, they well knew, a subject both of anger and apprehension. They found him much less willing than they had anticipated to connect his fortunes with theirs; indeed he advanced such demands, both of pecuniary subsidies and territorial cessions, as to produce in them a strong disinclination to carry the matter further. Nevertheless, their necessities were urgent, the Mahrattas were gaining ground upon them every

day, and at the earnest entreaty of Sir Robert Baker, the commander of the English army, they consented to treat. They pledged themselves to pay to the Soubahdar forty lacs of rupees, ten on the expulsion of the Mahrattas, and the remaining thirty within three years; whilst the Soubahdar, on his part, undertook to effect their deliverance with as little delay as possible. This was in every respect an unfortunate treaty for the Rohillas, to whom the Soubahdar never lent the smallest assistance, though he persisted in holding them responsible for the payments which they had so imprudently promised.

It has been seen elsewhere, that the Emperor, disgusted with the conduct of his allies, withdrew, on the subjugation of Zabita Khan, to Delhi. He was followed thither by the Mahrattas, who had now become the friends of Zabita Khan, and who, besides compelling him to advance his personal enemy to the highest honours, wrung from him a grant of the provinces of Allahabad and Corah for themselves. From the Rohillas, moreover, they had exacted a heavy sum as the price of a cessation from further hostilities, and they now moved towards the Ganges, with the avowed intention of taking possession of their recently-acquired dominion. The Soubahdar, alarmed at the aspect which affairs had assumed, wrote urgently to the English for support; and at length evinced a disposition to support the Rohillas, by marching his own army towards that point in their territory which appeared to be most immediately threatened. But the English had already provided against the capture of Allahabad and Corah. At the request

of the Emperor's deputy, who refused to obey the orders sent from Delhi, on the ground that his master, acting under restraint, was no longer entitled to obedience, they threw strong garrisons into both places. They then despatched a force, under Sir Robert Baker, to the assistance of the Soubahdar; and for some time the allies occupied one bank of the river, while the Mahrattas, unwilling to bring matters to a crisis, remained encamped on the other.

The departure of these restless warriors to their own country in the month of May, 1773, led to a new, and not a very creditable arrangement, between the Soubahdar and the English government. It had long been the earnest wish of the former to annex to the soubah of Oude that tract of country, both in the plain and among the mountains, of which the Rohilla chiefs were possessed, and the present appearing an opportunity favourable for the attainment of that darling object, he earnestly requested that Mr. Hastings would indulge him with a conference. The parties met at Benares; and, after a good deal of discussion, Hastings promised, on the part of the British government, to support this ambitious chief in his undertaking, on condition that the Soubahdar would defray all the expenses of the corps employed in that service, besides paying into the Company's treasury forty lacs of rupees. But this was not the only bargain which, as he himself has avowed, the pecuniary distresses of the Company induced Mr. Hastings to conclude, in defiance of the dictates both of justice and humanity. The Emperor had no sooner chosen to intrust the care

of his person to the Mahrattas, than he was given to understand that the tribute from Bengal had ceased, while his districts of Allahabad and Corah, which the English occupied on the pretext of preserving them for him, were deliberately sold to the Vizier for the sum of fifty lacs. Thus was the honour of the country coolly bartered away for gold, and two of the grossest acts of injustice committed that had yet blotted the annals of British authority in the East.

It would appear that Mr. Hastings, as if ashamed of the part which an excess of zeal in the service of his employers induced him to perform, kept the particulars of this treaty, as far as they related to the subjugation of the Rohillas, for some time secret from his council. That communication was reserved for the moment when the Soubahdar found it convenient to demand an English corps; nor was the demand complied with till after a long debate, and much opposition had been offered. But the influence of the president prevailed. One of the three brigades into which the army was divided, marched under the orders of Colonel Champion, and defeating the Rohillas in a sanguinary battle, put the Soubahdar in possession of the prize which he so much coveted. Never was victory more abused by the victor, nor defeat followed by more fatal consequences to the vanquished. Whole tribes were put to the sword, for the Vizier, as cruel as he was cowardly, spared neither sex nor age; indeed, it was only by taking shelter in the woods, or abandoning their country altogether, that any individual bearing the Rohilla name escaped. It is worthy of remark, that the

Soubahdar had engaged the Emperor in his cause, by promising to divide with him the booty taken and the territory subdued; and there marched from Delhi a force under Nujeef Khan to support him. As it arrived, however, too late to take part in the dangers of the war, the Vizier conceived that he was justified in refusing to share the fruits of his victory with its leader, and again was he supported in his subterfuges and breach of faith by the English government. The result, therefore, was, that Suja ad Dowla took possession for himself of the whole of Rohilcund, with the exception of the district of Rampore, which was granted in jageer to a chief named Fyzoollah Khan, at the entreaty of the English, and on his own promise of fidelity and allegiance.

This was the last transaction of importance during that portion of Hastings's administration which preceded the arrival of the new constitution, and of the functionaries by whom that was to be introduced. It was not approved by the Court of Directors, who, on the contrary, condemned the use which had been made of their troops in the reduction of a people from whom they had received no injury; but with every other act of his, even with the sale of Allahabad and Corah, the same Court of Directors expressed themselves highly pleased. Nor is it to be wondered at that the case was so. "When," says Mr. Hastings himself*, "I took charge of the government of Bengal, in April, 1772, I found it loaded with a debt at interest of nearly the same amount

* See his Memoir relative to the state of India, published in 1786.

as the present; in less than two years I saw that debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash to the same amount in the public treasuries." Had he effected no more than this, it would have sufficed to secure for him the approbation of a body who judged of the merits of their servants by one criterion only, namely, the amount of revenue which they managed to realize; but Hastings, with all his faults, advances higher claims to praise than this. He possessed, in no ordinary degree, the firmness and decision which are not less requisite than brilliant talent for the discharge of high office; nor was he destined to retire into private life till full opportunity had been furnished of exercising these qualities, under circumstances of more than common difficulty.

CHAPTER XI.

The new Government enters upon its functions—Disagreements in the Council—Affairs of Bombay—War with the Mahrattas—Continued dissensions in the Supreme Council—Shameful execution of a Native—Duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis—Mr. Francis returns to Europe.

DIRECTIONS had been given that the new constitution framed by act of Parliament should come into operation in India on the 1st of August, 1774. The 19th of October arrived, however, ere three out of the four members of council reached their destination; and as the fourth, Mr. Boswell, was still absent, no business could be transacted till the 25th. Then it was that the ancient order of things was formally declared to be at an end, and the new government entered upon the full exercise of those extensive powers with which it was invested.

It is said that Mr. Hastings received his new colleagues, on their first arrival at Calcutta, with a degree of coldness and reserve which they never afterwards forgave. There may, or there may not, be truth in this statement; but granting that the case was so, it seems difficult to imagine how a circumstance, in itself so trivial, should have been permitted to affect seriously the public conduct of men intrusted with the chief government of a great

country. That such was the effect produced by it, however, there is too much reason to believe: for the very first proceedings of Messrs. Clavering, Monson, and Francis exhibited marks of hostility towards the governor, of which their subsequent behaviour was at no moment divested. They violently condemned both the sale of Allahabad and the war with the Rohillas; they required that Mr. Middleton, a gentleman whom Mr. Hastings had appointed to the office of resident at the court of the Nabob of Oude, should be superseded, and insisted that all the correspondence which had passed, or might hereafter pass, between the two states should be open to their inspection. Nevertheless, while they thus expressed themselves concerning transactions, of the abstract justice of which we can attempt no defence, they appeared not less anxious than the governor to secure the price of his political crimes. They insisted that Suja ad Dowla should immediately pay up twenty lacs of the sum promised on the commencement of the Rohilla war; and that, in the event of his proving refractory or incapable of doing so, their troops should be recalled. It was to no purpose that Mr. Hastings opposed himself to measures so intemperate and ill-judged. He was supported by Mr. Barwell alone, and the act of Parliament having provided that the opinions of the majority should prevail, he ceased in any measure to control that government of which he was ostensibly the head.

When this impolitic order passed the council, intelligence of the Vizier's success had not yet been received. It arrived soon afterwards, with fifteen lacs in ready money, and an assurance that his

Highness would spare no exertions to discharge the remainder of his debt. But long ere the promise could be fulfilled, his Highness paid the debt of nature. He expired in the beginning of 1775, of a decline, under which he had for some months laboured, and was succeeded, without opposition, by his son, Assof ul Dowla. From him the majority in the council resolved upon demanding the full amount of arrears due from his father, at the same time that they held themselves free to stipulate for fresh advantages as the price of a continued alliance; and they succeeded in procuring a cession of territory, valued at an annual revenue of two millions two hundred and ten thousand rupees, besides considerably raising the allowance granted to the troops. Again was Mr. Hastings overborne in his opposition to measures which he condemned as iniquitous, while the Court of Directors, always satisfied so long as treasure came in, expressed themselves highly pleased at the wisdom of the arrangement.

One of the earliest acts of the new government was, to announce to the authorities at the presidencies of Madras and Bombay the novel relation in which they now stood towards that of Calcutta, and to demand from each a full statement of the condition of the province, both political and military. On the side of Madras there was little to communicate, beyond what has been already related in full; on that of Bombay the case was different. The latter presidency was involved, as it had been for some time back, in transactions of great importance with the Mahrattas, for a right understanding of which it will be necessary to ex-

plain events which, in order of time, ought to have been narrated long ago.

While the extent of the Company's territory was continually enlarging itself, both in Bengal and the Carnatic, the establishments on the western coast continued almost in the same state to which they were advanced in the reign of James the First. In the relative importance, indeed, of most of these settlements, a serious change had been effected. Surat, which once held the highest rank among the English factories, sank by degrees into a mere dependency upon Bombay. Nevertheless, Bombay itself, though its commerce was somewhat enlarged, could boast of no extension of territory, nor, indeed, of any great accession of influence. Even the town of Bassein and the island of Salsette, though in some degree essential as commanding the entrance to the harbour, continued in the hands of the Portuguese up to the year 1750, when they passed by conquest to the Mahrattas, by whom they were highly valued and tenaciously held. It had long been the wish of the Directors of the East India Company to annex these important places to their dominions; but it was not till the period to which our narrative has just been brought down, that any prospect of gratifying that wish appeared.

We alluded some time ago to an arrangement into which the Bombay government entered, for the reduction of certain pirates who harassed the coasting trade, and whose strongholds were, after a stout resistance, reduced by Commodore James and Colonel Clive. This service proved extremely acceptable to the Mahrattas, into whose hands

the conquered fortresses were delivered; yet when the English took advantage of it to solicit the transference to themselves, by purchase, of the two stations at the mouth of the harbour, they found their allies as unbending as they had ever been. The same obstinacy continued during the peshwaship of Ballagee Ragee Rao, as well as throughout both the pupilage and the manhood of his successor, Mahdoo. Nevertheless, as the good understanding between the two nations suffered no interruption, and the English maintained all the while a resident at Poonah, they continued, through him, to repeat their application from time to time, as often as a favourable opportunity appeared to offer.

Of the career of Mahdoo, while acting under the control of his uncle, Ragonaut Row, some account has been given. It has been shown that, in more than one instance, the peshwah sacrificed his own personal inclinations to a desire of maintaining concord in the family; and that he submitted, on this account, to be treated as a minor, long after both his judgment and his years were matured. There are, however, limits to all human forbearance, and that of Mahdoo was at length exhausted. He caused his uncle to be arrested, and committing him to safe, but not to irksome restraint, assumed, as he was entitled to do, the full exercise of his powers. In the discharge of these he exhibited so much of talent and discretion, as to render his early death a serious loss to his country, for he died in 1772, and left no son to succeed him.

Though Mahdoo had been compelled to place

his uncle in confinement, it does not appear that he ever entertained a distrust of his integrity or good intentions. Of both, on the contrary, he was well aware, as also of his talents, especially in warlike affairs; but there was a restless anxiety to take the lead, which rendered Ragonaut troublesome, and compelled the peshwah in the end to adopt a line of policy exceedingly disagreeable to himself. If, in pursuing this course, he did his uncle some wrong, he made ample amends for it by his behaviour towards him when dying. He sent both for him and for his younger brother, Narrain Row, to whom the peshwahship descended; he entreated them to live in amity, and committed the care of the latter, who was yet but a youth, to his uncle. There are curious rumours current as to the use which Ragonaut Row made of the influence thus acquired. We are not called upon to give here any account either of them or of the evidence on which they rest; it is enough to mention that the young peshwah was shortly afterwards murdered in his uncle's presence, by a body of his own troops, who had become mutinous for want of pay*.

Ragonaut Row was not popular among the leading chiefs of his nation, and seems to have been particularly obnoxious to the mutsiddees, or council†,

* Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill assert that Ragonaut Row was privy to the murder; Captain Grant, in his History of the Mahrattas, has, we think, demonstrated that the case was not so, though he admits that the uncle desired to confine the nephew, and exercise, in his own person, the functions of peshwah.

† Of these an account has been given in Vol. I.

which still exercised some degree of influence in the general management of affairs. They could not, however, refuse to admit his claim to the vacant dignity, and he was, in consequence, formally invested with the peshwah's robe ; but this was scarcely done when the widow of Narrain was discovered to be pregnant, and a change in the sentiments of the party immediately took place. They removed her to a strong fort, proclaimed her regent, and insisted upon their own right to administer affairs, till the issue of her travail should be known. Both sides began instantly to arm, and both looked with anxious eyes to the English. They, again, conceiving that the present moment was highly favourable to the accomplishment of their masters' wishes, directed their resident to negotiate with all parties for the acquisition of Salsette and Bassein ; and at last, when other measures failed, and Ragonaut and his enemies were fairly committed, they fitted out an expedition which carried the island by assault. It is but just to add, that the Bombay government was induced to take this somewhat unwarrantable step, by learning that Portugal had prepared a great armament for its recovery ; and by the well-grounded apprehension that from the Portuguese, should they once recover possession of their oldest settlement, neither force nor entreaty would easily wrest it.

In the meanwhile various battles were fought, in which success leant, for the most part, to the side of Ragonaut. He had escaped to Guzerat on the first breaking out of the conspiracy, where he was joined by Govind Row, the rightful claimant to the throne of that province, of which his younger

brother, Futty Sing, had taken possession. In like manner he had found an ally in Berar, also distracted by a feud between two brothers, one of whom gladly linked his fortunes with those of a chief so renowned as Ragonaut Row. With the assistance of these he gained some successes, which, had he followed them up with promptitude, might have insured a permanent triumph; but his courage strangely failed him, and he turned away from Poonah at a moment when his arrival there was confidently anticipated. The consequences of this indecision were such as usually follow when men take time to deliberate in a critical moment. The adherents of the mutsiddees rallied; they offered him battle again, and some Arabs, on whom he mainly depended, deserting him, he sustained a signal defeat. Nothing now remained but to throw himself absolutely into the arms of the English, to whom he offered, as the price of their support, the surrender both of Salsette and Bassein. Not a moment was lost on their part in closing with this proposition. The wished-for stations were annexed to the presidency, and an army of five hundred European infantry, and fourteen hundred sepoys, with a due proportion of artillery, marched, under the command of Colonel Keating, to join Ragonaut at Copperwunge, about fifty coss from Cambay.

Some time prior to the conclusion of this treaty, the Bombay government had engaged in hostilities with the Nabob of Baroach, in consequence of his refusal to pay to them the tribute which his ancestors had paid to the native government of Surat. These military operations, conducted without skill

or courage, ended in nothing; but a second armament, still more unjustifiable, because undertaken in the face of a positive treaty, expelled the Rajah from his dominions. This was followed by an alliance with Futty Sing, the rival of Ragonaut's friend, Govind Row, who agreed to pay to the Company the Nabob's share of the revenues of Baroach, on condition that they would acknowledge him as lawful sovereign of Guzerat. It was rather an awkward admission, for it stood directly opposed to that which Ragonaut had just made to Futty Sing's rival; nevertheless the Mahratta continued to satisfy his client with promises of a principality elsewhere, and the risk of disunion, at one time so imminent, was obviated.

The campaign of Ragonaut and his English allies against the mutsiddees was one of marches, rather than of battles. One action, indeed, took place on the plain of Arras, which, though it ended in a victory, cost the English the loss of some officers, eighty European soldiers, and two hundred sepoys, while the absence of a due supply of horses, and the mutinous state of the peshwah's troops, hindered any advantage from being derived from it. The Mahrattas refused to pass the Nerbudda, till their arrears of pay were made good; and while Ragonaut encamped at Bellapoor, the English established themselves in quarters in Dhuboy. Here great exertions were made to collect a sum sufficient to carry on the war with vigour, on the return of the dry season. These so far succeeded, that Futty Sing, in consideration of his title being acknowledged, engaged, among other important concessions, to furnish twenty-six lacs

of rupees; nor can it be doubted that, even with such means, Poonah would have fallen in the next campaign, had not events occurred of which no anticipation could have been formed, but which gave a totally new turn to the course of affairs on the western coast of India.

We have seen that the new government of Calcutta early directed its attention to the establishment of a permanent authority over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. To the questions transmitted to the latter station, touching the political and military condition of the colony, an explicit statement had been returned of the alliance with Ragonaut, and the consequences arising out of it, more particularly of the occupation of Bassein and Salsette, and the important acquisitions of territory and revenue obtained in Guzerat. The letter which contained this statement, though dated the 31st of December, did not reach Calcutta till the month of March, 1775. It excited the highest indignation in the supreme council. Peremptory orders were issued that all further communication between the English and Ragonaut should cease, and these, in spite of a strong but respectful remonstrance from Bombay, were again and again repeated. It was asserted that a subordinate presidency possessed no right to interfere, except by the express instructions of the supreme government, in the internal quarrels of the Mahrattas. While, therefore, the authorities at Bombay were directed to recall the troops, an agent was despatched from Calcutta to Poonah, who was instructed, as if in sheer opposition to the offending government, to treat only with the

mutsiddees. It is not easy to assign a motive for such proceedings on the part of men who had arrived at the years of discretion, and were not without some experience. Children sometimes inflict injuries on themselves for the purpose of proving that they are not be controlled even for their own benefit; it remained for the supreme government of India, towards the end of the eighteenth century, to demonstrate that men are sometimes swayed by the same principles which guide their grandsons.

The immediate consequence of such imbecility was to create in the mutsiddees a conviction that the English, unable any longer to sustain the expense of the contest, were prepared to sacrifice both Ragonaut and their own honour to peace. They assumed a high tone in communicating with Colonel Upton, and advanced such pretensions, that the government which had so recently expressed its disapprobation of war, avowed its intention of bringing into the field the whole strength of the Company's empire. The Mahrattas were far from contemplating with indifference the realization of this threat. They consented at last to a treaty, which, of course, reduced Ragonaut to the condition of a fugitive and dependant at Surat, but which stripped the English of Bassein and all their conquests in Guzerat, and left them in possession only of Salsette, and the petty islands adjacent. It is somewhat remarkable that this treaty, though avowedly contracted because the preservation of peace was the great object to which the Court of Directors looked, proved the reverse of acceptable to that inconsistent body. While it

was yet pending, or to speak more correctly, ere intelligence of its ratification reached Calcutta, there arrived letters from London, which contained a full approval of the recent proceedings of the Bombay government. "We approve," said they, "under every circumstance, of the keeping of all the territories and possessions ceded to the Company by the treaty concluded with Ragonaut, and direct that you forthwith adopt such measures as may be necessary for their preservation and defence."

During the progress of these events, the spirit of discord which had early shown itself in the supreme council, rose to a height which threatened before long to interrupt entirely the course of public business. As there were no foreign enemies to watch, for neither the Emperor nor Assof ul Dowla, nor any other power on the north-western frontier, possessed either the means or the inclination to molest them, the three gentlemen whom Hastings had originally offended began to pry, with more than inquisitorial eyes, into the tenour of his public and private conduct. He was accused of accepting bribes from native chiefs, both in his own person and through his servants; in one instance to the amount of fifteen thousand rupees, in another of thirty-six thousand, in a third of one hundred and fifty thousand, and in a fourth of upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand. It does not appear, however desirous the Court of Directors might be to put a stop to the pernicious practice of receiving gifts, that either they or the recent act of parliament gave any authority to the members of council to sit as

judges on the proceedings of the governor-general. If there existed ground of suspicion against him, it was doubtless the duty of his colleagues to report the nature of these suspicions to the authorities at home; and, provided the home authorities saw fit to supersede the governor, by ordering inquiries to be instituted on the spot, then, indeed, they would have been fully justified in sifting each case to the bottom. But to bring forward charges of malversation against a man who still held his place as ostensible head of the government, was a measure destructive of all order, and at variance with all precedent. Mr. Hastings, with great propriety, refused to enter into the merits of a single case. He denied the right set up by the council, of taking cognizance of his proceedings, and declined to justify himself before those to whose judgment he was not amenable. But neither this, nor his declaring the council dissolved as often as they reverted to the subject, had the smallest effect in restraining Messrs. Clavering, Monson, and Francis. They persisted in asserting that to them, as constituting the majority in the council, all power was committed; and they went on with their inquiries and judgments as if the office of governor had been absolutely abolished.

The four great charges against Mr. Hastings were, 1st, That, in conjunction with the resident at Burdwan, he had taken a bribe from a dewan to withdraw the infant rajah from the care of his mother, and commit him to the keeping of the individual who tendered such bribe. 2d, That out of a rent of seventy-two thousand lacs paid yearly by the phouzdar of Hoogly, thirty-six

thousand went into the pocket of the governor-general. 3d, That he had accepted from the begum, or mother of the young nabob, fifteen thousand rupees, under the denomination of entertainment money, on occasion of his visit to Moorshedabad, in 1772, for the purpose of placing her at the head of the nabob's household; and 4th, That presents to the amount of three hundred and fifty-four thousand one hundred and five rupees were made to him in the course of various other arrangements relating to the nabob's establishment. As Mr. Hastings steadily persisted in his refusal to vindicate himself from any charge, it were useless to inquire how far these were or were not brought home to him; but of the fate which attended the most important witness against him in the last-mentioned case, it is impossible to speak without indignation. Rajah Nuncomar, a native of high rank, who had filled more than one office of trust and responsibility under the government, came forward to vouch for the reality of the alleged bribery. His testimony produced upon the council (not, it must be owned, the most impartial judges) so great an effect, that in defiance of Mr. Hastings's protest, they required him to refund the whole amount, by paying it into the Company's treasury. Within a very few days Nuncomar was arrested and thrown into prison, on a charge of forgery; he was brought to trial before Sir Elijah Impey, the crime was proved against him, and he was sentenced to be hanged. To the eternal disgrace of all concerned, the sentence was carried into execution, and a man who was not legally amenable to the court which tried him—who had committed

the offence before English law was established in India, according to the usages of whose native courts forgery is not a capital crime—and against whom the evidence was far from conclusive—that man, in defiance of the respect due to the feelings of the whole native population, suffered death by the hands of the executioner. There is not among all the acts of Mr. Hastings's government one which has left so deep a stain upon his memory as this, or tended more to excite suspicions as to his general integrity and uprightness, even among those who most admire his genius and firmness.

It was not to be expected that men who thus acted towards one another would lay aside, under any circumstances, their private animosities for the sake of furthering the public good. When the leasing system was found to have failed, as proved in due time to be the case, the majority in the council, instead of aiding the governor in his efforts to devise a better, contented themselves with recording bitter invectives against measures that were past. To put an end to this, Mr. Hastings proposed that each member of the government should individually bring forward a plan, and that these should be laid for approval before the Court of Directors. As there was no ground whatever on which to object to this, the motion was agreed to, and both he and Mr. Francis drew up schemes to which their respective satellites consented. Mr. Hastings suggested the propriety of letting the lands on leases of one or two lives, giving, wherever the arrangement was practicable, a preference to the zemindars; Mr. Francis's minute boldly pronounced the zemindars the real

proprietors of the soil, and declared that with them, as recognised freeholders, an adjustment ought to be made. This is the first instance which meets us of a gross mistake, which has brought many and heavy evils upon British India. Hitherto all Europeans, or almost all, had erroneously considered the land to be the property of the government; to Mr. Francis we are indebted for the introduction of another and an equally fatal mistake—namely, that the land is the property of the zemindars. It is curious that not one person in authority had as yet discovered, that the only real landed proprietors in India are the ryots.

If, in his opinions on the subject of property, Mr. Francis ran into error, his views respecting the maintenance of a police and the general administration of justice were unquestionably more enlightened than those of his rival. He proposed that to the zemindars should be restored all the rights and immunities of which recent enactments had deprived them; and that they should be held responsible under the British government, as they had been during the vigour of the native governments, for the peace of the country. Mr. Hastings, on the other hand, was opposed to this, and drew up, with the help of Sir Elijah Impey, the draught of a bill for the establishment of two courts of record in each of the seven divisions into which the country was now portioned off. These, however, were to decide in civil cases only, for criminal justice was to be administered as heretofore by native judges, under the superintendence of Naib Nazim Mohamed Reza Khan; but before any answer arrived from England, or either plan

could be carried into execution, Mr. Monson died. A complete change, both in the principles and conduct of the local government, was the immediate consequence. Hastings, by means of his casting vote, had now the sovereign power in his own hands, and he was not the man to be very diffident as to the necessity of exercising it.

Though confident of the wisdom of the leasing system, and well disposed to carry it into execution, Mr. Hastings, however, was too prudent not to preface it by a minute inquiry into the resources and general state of the country. He had drawn up a minute on the subject while yet in the minority, in which he proposed that both Europeans and natives should be employed in this service; and that no tenders of hire should be accepted or considered till the board of revenue had acquired an accurate knowledge of the real capabilities of the lands. As a matter of course, this proposal, like every other emanating from him, had been scouted; it now rested with himself either to see it carried into effect or otherwise. He persisted in regarding the arrangement in the same light as before; and he sent out agents with ample powers to seek for information wherever they might expect to find it. Nevertheless, the intelligence which they acquired was not permitted to have the smallest weight in fixing the amount of revenue. Despatches had, in the interval, arrived from London, which equally condemned the projects of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, and directed that settlements should be made only from year to year, on the basis of an average of the collection realized for the three years preceding. This was not a

measure agreeable to the policy of Mr. Hastings, who desired, if possible, to fix the taxes at an amount proportionate to the capabilities of the payers; but he was compelled to give way. On the expiration of the five years' settlement in 1777, new contracts were made, and the system of yearly settlements, which originated not in surveys, but in guesses, was introduced.

While these things were passing in India, a circumstance befell elsewhere, of which the effect was seriously felt both at Calcutta and in London. When Mr. Hastings was in the deepest depression, under the ascendancy of his opponents, a gentleman of the name of Maclean departed for England, and carried with him various confidential communications from the governor-general. Among these was the resignation of Mr. Hastings, which, after some demur, occasioned chiefly by the refusal of Mr. Maclean to show the whole of the letter that contained it, was accepted. Despatches were, in consequence, sent out, which contained the information that Mr. Wheler had been named as the new governor, and directed General Clavering, as senior member of the council, to execute the office till he should arrive. By this time, however, the whole power of the government had come into Mr. Hastings's hands, and he refused to resign, on the ground that Mr. Maclean had exceeded his powers. It is not necessary to say that a scene of extraordinary commotion ensued: nevertheless, the death of General Clavering, which occurred shortly afterwards, left Hastings master of the field; and, in spite of the opposition of Messrs. Francis and Wheler,

he was voted to be governor. He did not fail to exercise his powers for the advantage of all those who had supported him under different circumstances. Various changes were effected in subordinate stations, on all of which the Court of Directors were far from conferring their approbation: nevertheless Hastings carried his measures with a high hand; and it is but justice to the memory of a great and persecuted man to own, that there was not one of these to which any reasonable objection could be offered.

In the midst of so many unhappy feuds intelligence arrived, that certain French emissaries had made their appearance in Poonah, and that the Mahrattas, won over by their representations, were prepared to violate the late treaty, by granting to them authority to establish a station upon the Malabar coast. Serious fears were in consequence entertained; and it was at one time debated, whether or not Ragonaut ought to be given up as a peace-offering; but better counsels prevailed, and it was resolved to remonstrate with the Mahrattas in a tone becoming the dignity of the Company. In this determination the supreme council was confirmed by the receipt of a communication from home, which approved of the intention expressed by the Bombay authorities to support Ragonaut; while a disagreement which soon afterwards arose among the Mahratta ministers themselves, tended in no degree to abate the manly spirit which animated them. The consequence was, that, finding their remonstrances lightly regarded, the supreme government determined to try an appeal to arms, by once more

espousing the cause of Ragonaut; and the presidency of Bombay received instructions to march an army upon Poonah, which should be supported by a force sent across the country from Bengal.* Never were expeditions conducted with less judgment, or productive of more humiliating results. Six battalions of sepoys, one company of artillery, with a corps of cavalry, set out from Calpee, under the orders of Colonel Leslie, with instructions to make their way, by fair means or by foul, through Berar and Aurungabad; while a force of four thousand five hundred men, under Col. Egerton, who was accompanied by two field-deputies, Messrs. Carnac and Mostyn, marched from Bombay to meet them. Colonel Leslie wasted his time so shamefully, that he failed to reach the frontier of the enemy's country till long after the period when it behoved him to have been in possession of the capital. Happily he died here, and left the command to Colonel Goddard, an officer formed in a very different school. But whatever Goddard's talents might be, the imbecility of those to whom the conduct of the Bombay force was intrusted, prevented him from effecting anything beyond the preservation of his own army. Colonel Egerton had arrived within eighteen miles of Poonah, when his civilian colleagues became alarmed, and induced him to commence a retreat, which he found himself unable to pursue. He was surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, his supplies were cut off, and, in spite of the remonstrances of Captain Hartley, he consented to capitulate. It was agreed in consequence that Salsette should be restored; that Ragonaut should

be given up; and that the English should renounce all pretensions to the acquisitions lately made in Guzerat; and though the army was allowed on these terms to return to Bombay, two officers of rank were retained by the Mahrattas as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. Fortunately Colonel Goddard was made aware of this convention in sufficient time to provide for his own safety. By a forced march of nineteen days' continuance, he made his way from Bhoorampoor to Surat, where he arrived in perfect order, his troops having preserved admirable discipline, and received the best treatment from the inhabitants as they passed along.

To the terms of the convention into which Leslie, with his civilian colleagues, had entered, the supreme government would not accede. Both sides prepared for an immediate renewal of hostilities; and Colonel Goddard having conducted himself, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, with great judgment and discretion, he received his reward by being nominated commander-in-chief of all the forces employed on the western coast of India. At first some jealousy of this appointment was exhibited by the Bombay government, but Goddard, by his judicious behaviour, overcame that feeling, and he took the field on the 2d of January, 1780, with the full confidence of all parties. He had, moreover, contracted a very favourable treaty both with Ragonaut and Futty Sing, and his gallantry and activity in the campaign were not inferior to his management in council. He took possession of Dubhoy on the 20th, carried Ahmenabad by storm

on the 10th of February, and on the 3d of April surprised and defeated the combined armies of Scindiah and Holkar, two of the most influential of the chiefs to whom Ragonaut was at this time opposed. This last victory was followed by numerous less important successes, which, in a great degree, gave to the British army the command of the passes leading to Poonah; after which the troops were, in consequence of the approach of the rainy season, sent into quarters.

In the meanwhile Sir Eyre Coote had arrived from England, to succeed General Clavering in the chief command of the forces, and to occupy the seat in the council-chamber which the demise of the latter had rendered vacant. Without servilely following the instructions of the governor in all things, Sir Eyre generally gave his support where it was most needed, and readily consented to support the Rajah of Gohud, whose territories were invaded by the Mahrattas. In this service Captain Popham was employed; and though his command extended only to a single battalion, he managed to perform services for which his name well deserves a place in military history. He drove the invaders from Gohud, crossed the Lindi in pursuit of them, battered, with a wretched train, the city of Ichan, and took it by storm. But his most memorable exploit was the capture, by escalade, of the celebrated fortress of Gualior. It stands upon the summit of a rock, which is scarped to the depth of sixteen or twenty feet; above this there is a broken and precipitous ascent of ninety feet; and, above all, the rampart, measuring thirty feet from its base. Yet he took it

in open day, in despite of the opposition of a garrison of a thousand men, not, as sometimes occurs in war, by a fortunate accident, but by the exercise of sound calculation and admirable courage. The effect of this achievement was such as to strike terror into the whole of the Mahratta nation, and to induce Scindiah to retreat with precipitation to his own capital.

There remains but one transaction more appertaining to this stage of our history, of which it is necessary to make mention; namely, the memorable duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. These two gentlemen had long hated each other; they had been induced, by some mutual friends, to come to a professed reconciliation, and to enter into stipulations of the full extent of which the world will probably remain for ever ignorant. It appeared, however, that Mr. Francis's pledges were either violated, or were believed to be violated, almost as soon as given; at least we find Mr. Hastings, in a minute, dated the 13th of July, 1783, declaring, "I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I find to be void of truth and honour." The consequence of this accusation was a challenge from Mr. Francis, which the governor-general saw fit to accept, and the former being wounded in the rencontre, returned on the 9th of December to Europe.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of the Carnatic—Arrival of a king's ambassador—Mischievous effects of the appointment—Hyder refused support—Tanjore reduced—Lord Pigot appointed Governor—Restores the Rajah—Dissensions in the Council—Arrest of the Governor—His death—Sir Thomas Rumbold—His incapability—War with Hyder—Destruction of Bailie's corps—The English army retreats to Marmalong.

By the treaty of 1769, the Madras government stood pledged to assist, with a contingent of troops, in repelling any enemy that might, on any pretext, invade the Mysore territories. Within a few weeks after the return of Hyder to his own country, they received a communication, in which he urged them to unite with him in supporting one of the Mahratta chiefs in a rebellion against the Peshwah. With this request they refused to comply; for, though they were far from holding in contempt the power of the Mahrattas, or regardless of their encroachments, they could justly excuse themselves, on the ground that they had given no promise of assistance except in a war of defence. The case was widely different when, in a little while afterwards, intelligence arrived that Mysore was actually invaded, and that Hyder, unable to meet his enemies in the field, had fallen back upon his capital. Had they really desired to act up to the

treaty of 1769, they would immediately have marched an army to his aid; but they entertained no such wish. Beholding, both in Hyder and in the Mahrattas, powers equally hostile to themselves, whom it was their interest to embroil with one another during as long a space of time as possible, they were not disposed to lend to either party such assistance as would give to it a decided superiority over its rival. They accordingly evaded the requisition, on different pretexts, some of which, to say the truth, were abundantly futile; and, affecting neutrality, made preparations to take up arms only when the extremity should become unavoidable.

It was at this juncture that there came over from England, in command of the squadron granted to the Directors towards the close of 1769, Commodore Sir John Lindsay, with powers, the bare mention of which excited among the servants of the Company the liveliest alarm. For some time back the Nabob, Mohamed Ally, had, it appeared, found means to conduct a secret correspondence with the English cabinet. His agents had represented him as a high-born potentate, cruelly robbed of his authority by a body of English merchants; and they so wrought upon the misdirected feelings of the minister, that he was persuaded to adopt the absurd statements as truths. The result was, that, looking to the eleventh article in the treaty of Paris, which provided for the acknowledgment of Mohamed's title, the minister resolved to take this oppressed monarch under his own especial protection. Not a hint was dropped of this intention to the Direc-

tors; who, on the contrary, were led to believe that all the claims originally set up of interference in the internal management of India had been abandoned. Nevertheless, Sir John Lindsay was formally commissioned as ambassador from the court of Great Britain to that of Arcot; and he lost no time, after his arrival at Madras, in entering upon the exercise of his powers. He at once declared himself the defender of the rights of the Nabob against the aggressions of his own countrymen. He took every opportunity of humbling the local government, by teaching the Nabob to look, not to it, but to the king his master; and finding that Mohamed was desirous of joining the Mahrattas against Hyder, he violently urged upon the authorities the necessity of yielding to his wishes. It is not necessary to describe at length the altercations and disputes which ensued. We must content ourselves with stating, that the Madras government adhered steadily to its neutral policy, and that Sir John Lindsay, having indulged in expressions of unbecoming warmth, was recalled.

The specimen thus afforded of the probable results of this measure was not sufficient to convince the ministers of its impolicy. A new protector to the crowned heads of India appeared in the person of Sir Robert Harland, a man still more intemperate, and less skilful in the politics of the country, than his predecessor. Again was the question of a Mahratta alliance agitated with extreme bitterness; and again the local authorities persisted in their adherence to the prudent plan which they had drawn up for themselves. It was to no purpose that the Nabob protested

that those who ought to be his subjects were become his masters. The Madras government refused to furnish a man, and the Nabob, and his ambassador, were obliged to content themselves with patching up a peace between the belligerents, on terms extremely unfavourable to Hyder.

This matter was scarcely arranged, when a new project was devised, into which, as it accorded well with their own feelings, the Company's government readily entered. Amid the many revolutions to which the natives of southern India had been subject, the little kingdom of Tanjore remained tranquil; being governed by the lineal descendants of Eckajee Sivajee's brother, and protected partly by its remote situation, partly by the alliance which the Rajah had contracted with the English. It chanced, however, that a full conviction of the importance of this alliance did not hinder the Rajah from avoiding, as far as possible, to mix up his own fortunes with those of his protectors. In the late war with Hyder, he had contributed a smaller proportion both of troops and money than was expected from him; and he was suspected, not without reason, of having held all the while a secret correspondence with the enemy. In spite, however, of this blot upon his scutcheon, the Rajah continued to be treated as the friend and ally of the English. As such he had been specifically named in the treaty with Hyder, and his safety provided for through their interference, chiefly because they were unwilling that he should become, or seem to become, a client of the opposite party.

The backwardness and apparent treachery of

the Rajah had not, however, ceased to rankle in the minds both of the Nabob and of the English. They believed likewise, because his country was fertile, and had suffered no recent invasions, that he was immensely rich; and they longed for a fair pretext on which to draw from his exchequer a portion of that treasure of which they were equally in want. No great while elapsed ere the wished-for opportunity offered; and they were far from backward in taking advantage of it.

Early in the month of February, 1771, the Presidency received intelligence that the Rajah was preparing an expedition for the reduction of the Polygar of Sunputty, one of the districts called Marawars. Over these the Nabob, as sovereign of Trichinopoly, claimed to exercise a feudal superiority; and he hastened to require that the Tanjore prince would not attack one of his vassals. The remonstrance was disregarded; the Nabob called upon the English to assist him in protecting his subjects, and the English, no way averse to the scheme, complied. They caused an army to assemble at Trichinopoly, which marched under the joint command of General Smith and the Nabob's eldest son, Omrut ul Omrah, and on the 12th of September began to enter Tanjore. On the 16th, the strong fort of Vellore was attacked; on the 20th it was taken, the garrison making their escape as soon as the breach became practicable. On the 23rd, the capital itself was invested; and on the 29th, late in the evening, the besiegers broke ground. But the army was indifferently supplied both with stores and provisions, Omrut ul Omrah, to whom the care of collecting

them had been intrusted, having shamefully neglected his duty; and as the garrison made a brave defence, and risked more than one sally, the labours of the siege advanced but slowly. A breach was, however, effected, and orders were issued for the assault, which was to have taken place at daybreak on the 27th of October; when, to the astonishment of General Smith, to whom no reference had been made, the young Nabob announced that the war was at an end. He had taken it upon himself to accept eight lacs as arrears of Peschush, with 50,000 rupees for the expense of the expedition; and had promised that, as soon as the first instalment was paid, the besieging army should withdraw, and Vellore be restored to the Rajah. The utmost indignation was excited, both among the troops and at the Presidency, when the treaty in question became known. The troops had calculated upon the plunder of Tanjore, and they refused to accept a sum offered to them by Omrut ul Omrah in lieu of it; while the Government was highly indignant that the unconditional surrender of the place had not been insisted on. Though, therefore, they commanded General Smith to fall back, they instructed him on no account to relinquish Vellore, and to hold himself in readiness, in the event of any delay in the promised payment, to renew the war. Things fell out as the Madras authorities had anticipated. The Rajah was not punctual; and the English army, after assisting the Nabob to conquer those very Marawars whom he had affected to treat as his dependants, was again led against Tanjore.

There was scarcely any plausible excuse for

this second inroad upon Tanjore. Out of fifty lacs promised as compensation for expenses, and eight lacs as arrears, the Rajah, by pledging his jewels and plate, had paid up all except twelve lacs, and these twelve he was making strenuous exertions to procure. Nevertheless, it was convenient that his kingdom should not remain open as a landing-place for the French, and that all hazard from the rear should be obviated, in case of a renewal of the contest with Hyder. On those iniquitous grounds, the Rajah was given up to destruction; for even the temptation of an enormous bribe was wanting. The Nabob would not consent that the captured city should receive so much as an English garrison; and he promised no more than a gratuity of ten lacs of pagodas: yet for this poor sum the English government consented to intrust to his keeping the persons of the devoted Rajah and of all his family. After vainly striving to avert the storm by submission, and calling, with equal absence of success, on Hyder for support, the Rajah prepared to sell his capital at the dearest possible rate. He defended it with great resolution for upwards of a month, when the place being stormed and carried during the heat of the day, when the garrison were all buried in sleep, he became a prisoner in the hands of his worst enemy. But the conquerors were not satisfied to rest here. The Dutch had recently purchased the sea-port of Nagpore, an acquisition which both the English and the Nabob beheld with distaste. It was determined to deprive them of it; and partly on the pretext that the Rajah, as a dependent prince, was not entitled to alienate

any portion of his dominions, partly because the Dutch had supplied him with money and stores during the war, they were commanded to withdraw. The Dutch felt their own inability to maintain themselves, and they obeyed.

Accounts of these transactions reached the Court of Directors so early as the 26th of March, 1774; but it was not till the 12th of April, 1775, that they condescended to express an opinion concerning them, either commendatory or the reverse. It is highly probable, indeed, that the deposition of the Tanjore Rajah would have been permitted to pass without one word of remark, had not the Court of Proprictors determined, for the second time, to invest Lord Pigot, late Mr. Pigot, with the government of Fort St. George. Now, it so happened, that with the dethroned Rajah, Mr. Pigot, when formerly in office, had formed an intimate and confidential connexion. It was to the good pleasure of Governor Pigot, indeed, that the Rajah owed the treaty of 1762, which gave to him the only security which he possessed for his throne: it would have been singular had his deposition failed to affect his former patron with sentiments of deep regret. Whence it came about does not exactly appear; but the nomination of Lord Pigot was almost immediately followed by a revolution in the sentiments of the majority of the Court, touching the practice and policy of recent proceedings. They were unequivocally condemned, and peremptory orders were dispatched, to restore, without loss of time, the Rajah to his throne. At the same time, instructions were issued for placing the revenue management

of the Northern Circars on an improved footing; and a desire was generally expressed, that to the well-known talents and zeal of the new governor, the Council would pay every deference. Armed with this authority, and doubly armed by the confidence reposed in him, Lord Pigot took leave of the Court, and entered upon his duties in the council-chamber of Fort St. George, 11th of December, 1775.

Profound was the sorrow of the Nabob, Mohamed Ally, when the intention of the English Government to reinstate the Rajah became known. He tried first the language of menace, then that of supplication; and finding these equally unavailing, he endeavoured to divert them from their purpose, by offering to admit an English garrison into Tanjore itself. The government did not scruple to take advantage of this permission, though they never so far forgot what was due to themselves as to pretend a compliance with the Nabob's wishes. On the contrary, they marched a force to Tanjore, obtained quiet possession of the Rajah's person, and restored to him forthwith the sovereignty of which he had been temporarily deprived.

It had been voted in council, that the Governor, who appeared desirous of managing this matter in person, should proceed to Tanjore for the purpose. He did so; but found on his return that a spirit of hostility towards himself, in what cause originating has never been accurately shown, had arisen, in the interval, among a majority of his colleagues. There was a person of the name of Benfield, resident at Madras, a former servant of

the Company, whose yearly salary amounted to a few hundred pounds. This man had long been on confidential terms with the Nabob, and naturally saw with regret the possession of a fertile province like that of Tanjore taken away from his friend and patron. With a degree of assurance altogether unparalleled, he advanced claims upon the Nabob to the amount of one hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds, besides a further claim upon individuals of seventy-two thousand pounds; the whole of which he pretended to have lent. For this enormous debt, he asserted that security had been given to him, on the revenues and standing crops in Tanjore; and he appealed to the Nabob himself, who at once admitted the claim. Two sources of suspicion naturally occurred concerning this transaction to Lord Pigot. In the first place, he considered it extremely probable that there was collusion between the nominal creditor and the nominal debtor; in the next place, he was far from being satisfied that the Nabob possessed any right to offer such security as that specified. Mr. Benfield's case, therefore, (for he called upon the English government to assist him in the recovery of his property,) was referred to the consideration of the Council, which, besides being unable to procure any vouchers to the supposed debts, came to the conclusion that the public property of the Rajah of Tanjore could not be escheated for the purpose of covering any loans advanced to private persons. This was both an unanimous and a fair decision: yet, strange to say, a motion was made at the next meeting that the matter should be reconsidered; and a verdict diametrically opposed

to that originally delivered was given in. Lord Pigot was surprised; and endeavoured, by repeatedly changing the form of his motion, to bring the Council back to the sentiments which they had formerly expressed. He did not succeed; and from that hour everything like unanimity and concord ceased.

Were we to describe at length the scenes which now occurred, when every question brought forward by the Governor was opposed and overborne by a majority in the Council, we should present to the reader only a copy of the picture of which he has already beheld the effect in the Chamber at Calcutta. Lord Pigot desired to nominate a friend of his own to the situation of resident at Tanjore; he was outvoted; and Colonel Stuart, the second in command, received the appointment. The Governor refused to indorse it, declared himself an integral part of the local jurisdiction, and forbade any order to be obeyed which had not received his signature. The Council pronounced this an act of tyranny, and proceeded to sign all deeds without reference to their president at all. Suspensions followed; these were succeeded by counter-suspensions; and finally the Governor was arrested by order of the opposite party, and placed in confinement. He died while thus circumstanced, only a few weeks previous to the arrival of a dispatch from London, which contained both his re-appointment and recall, and the whole council being summoned, Sir Thomas Rumbold, with Mr. Whitehill and General Hector Monro, took upon themselves the administration of affairs.

Sir Thomas Rumbold gave an early specimen

of the intended scheme of his administration, by disregarding, or rather by practically condemning, one of the few useful measures which marked the policy of his predecessors. We have alluded to the instructions communicated by the Court of Directors, touching a commission of inquiry into the resources of the Northern Circars, and the fittest method of rendering them available. For three years after they passed into the Company's possession, the districts of Rajamundry, Ellore, and Condapelly, had been consigned, under lease, to a native named Hassein Ally Khan, who had previously governed them under the Nizam, with the state and authority of a viceroy. The remaining Circar of Cicalole was placed under a similar administration, but in the hands of a separate deputy. In the year 1769, a change took place, by the discontinuance of native management, and the establishment of chiefs and councils at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam, to whose charge the entire fiscal and judicial administration was intrusted. The revenue, however, continued to fall off, and the Council, during the period of Lord Pigot's imprisonment, sent forth a commission to inquire and report upon the real state of the country, and the causes of its mortifying unfruitfulness. The commission had made some progress, when Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived, and an immediate stop was put to its proceedings. He determined that it would be better to command the attendance of the chiefs and zemindars at Madras, and to make with them, personally, such arrangements as circumstances might warrant; and his council, with an obsequiousness to which governors had not of

late been accustomed, at once coincided in his opinion. The consequences were highly injurious to the native chiefs. They were all poor; many of them were deeply involved, and not a few oppressed with age and bodily infirmities. Nevertheless, they were compelled to wait upon their masters, in defiance of the avowal of the commissioners that they must increase their embarrassments by borrowing money to defray the expenses of the journey. Nor was this all. To one of these chiefs, Vizeram Roy, the Rajah of Vizinagaram, the Governor behaved with a degree of tyranny for which there was no excuse, by compelling him to make over the management of his affairs to a brother, of whose hostility and rapaciousness ample proofs were recorded. But there was an excellent reason for this. Several large sums were forwarded by that brother to Madras, which never found their way into the Company's treasury; and both Rumbold and his private secretary, Mr. Redhead, were soon after enabled to remit home more than six times the amount of their respective salaries.

If such was the tenor of his more private dealings, (and they were severely and justly blamed by his employers,) Sir Thomas Rumbold's policy in more conspicuous transactions lay equally open to the censure of the Directors. Notice has been taken of the reservation made of the Guntoor Circar, which was enjoyed as a jaghire by Basalutjing, the brother of the Nizam. Hitherto he had been left in undisturbed possession of his property; but there came in a rumour about this time that he had enlisted a corps of French in his

service, and the apprehensions of the Madras government became violently excited. Instructions were promptly conveyed to Mr. Holland, the resident at Hyderabad, to remonstrate with the Nizam on this proceeding; while Basalut-jing himself was peremptorily required to dismiss M. Lally and his followers, on pain of immediate ejection from the jaghire. It so happened that Basalut-jing, apprehensive of an attack from Hyder, was prepared to secure the favour of the English at any cost; he therefore agreed to discharge his French mercenaries, and to make over to the English in lease the whole of his revenues, on condition that they sent a force for his protection. In like manner, the Nizam declared himself perfectly willing to see the treaty of 1768 rigidly enforced; but he deprecated the loan of any troops from the English to his brother, on the ground that it would induce the latter to aspire at independence. Rumbold paid no attention to this remonstrance; he pledged himself that a corps of English should supply the place of Lally and his Frenchmen, and the latter were dismissed, only to be taken into the service of the Nizam. Nor was Rumbold satisfied with this; the payment due from the English to the Nizam had fallen into arrears for some time back—Rumbold now advanced a claim, that it should be remitted altogether. If the Nizam suspected the Madras authorities before, he became doubly suspicious now, and he appealed to the supreme government, which, with perfect justice, though in a tone of great moderation, espoused his cause. Rumbold could not brook this. He replied to

the despatches from Calcutta in a strain of petulance and reproach, as much out of place as it was uncalled for, and followed up the step by taking forcible possession of Guntoor, and subletting it on a lease of ten years to the Nabob. But he was guilty of still greater political crimes than these, of which the consequences were long and severely felt throughout the whole of British India.

Disgusted with the treatment which he had received from the Madras government, Hyder had for some time directed his views to an alliance with the French, between whom and the English war was known to be impending, if it had not already broken out. His advances were promptly met by M. Bellicombe, the enlightened and able governor of Pondicherry, and he was liberally supplied with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, through the settlement at Mahe. All this was well known to Rumbold, yet, with unaccountable infatuation, he neither took steps to prevent it, nor began to make the slightest preparation against the issues to which it must necessarily lead. On the contrary, he persisted in treating the ruler of Mysore with marked disrespect, at the same time that he permitted both the pecuniary and other resources of the presidency to fall into the grossest confusion. A few words will suffice to place this matter in its true light.

In the beginning of July, 1778, intelligence was received in Bengal, which, though somewhat premature, was acted upon as certain, that war between France and England had commenced. Orders were immediately issued to reduce the

settlements at Chandernagur, Masulipatam, and Carical, the whole of which, being incapable of effectual resistanee, submitted without a blow. Pondieherry was next assailed, both by sea and land, and forced, after a gallant defence, to surrender. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and the fortifications were blown up. The fall of this place was not regarded with indifference by Hyder; but as yet he was unprepared for an open rupture, and he dissembled his sentiments. It was not so when officially informed that an army, destined to reduce Mahe, was preparing to set out from the Carnatic. He formally protested against the measure, declared that all foreigners on the Malabar coast were equally entitled to his protection, and threatened to avenge any insult offered to his flag by the destruction of Arcot. We are not prepared to condemn the Madras government because they disregarded this threat. There was no law in existence which constituted Hyder the natural guardian of a French fort, merely because the country contiguous happened to form part of his dominions, for the French neither owed, nor pretended to owe, any allegiance to the sovereign of Mysore. But it would have been commonly prudent in Sir Thomas Rumbold, while meditating so bold a step, to furnish Hyder with no just ground of quarrel in another quarter, while he himself adopted proper precautions against the probable effects of his own proceeding. In both instances the governor of Madras showed himself as singularly as he was culpably negligent. He caused Mahe to be attacked and captured, in defiance of a display of the Mysore

standard on the walls, and followed up the measure by commanding Colonel Harpur to lead a body of troops through a portion of Hyder's territory towards Guntoor, without so much as paying to Hyder the usual compliment of soliciting and obtaining his sanction to the measure. The step was a false one, as it led to the most serious consequences. Harpur, opposed in the defiles of Cudapah, was compelled to abandon his design; while a messenger, sent to offer explanations at the court of Seringapatam, was treated with undisguised coldness, and even insult. It is scarcely to be accounted for, that a government, placed in such a situation, should have permitted the delusion to continue for one moment, that war with Mysore could be avoided. We find Sir Thomas Rumbold, so late as January, 1780,—after it had been communicated to him by the Nabob, whose information was usually excellent, that a treaty existed between Hyder and the Mahrattas, to which Nizam Ally had acceded,—writing to the Court of Directors that there was every prospect of tranquillity; repeating this assurance in still stronger terms in the month following, and acting with as much disregard to the defensibility of the province as if his indemnity from attack rested upon the surest grounds. Nor did the evil end here. A spirit of faction arose in the council, which, under any circumstances, and at any moment, would have been hurtful to the public interests, but which, at a juncture so critical as the present, could not fail of leading to consequences in the highest degree mischievous.

Such was the state of affairs at Madras and in

the Carnatic, when, on the 19th of June, an express from the officer commanding at Velore communicated information that Hyder had begun his march from Seringapatam, and that a prodigious army was assembling at Bangalore. The intelligence came upon government like a thunderbolt, for never had the country been less prepared to resist invasion. No efforts had been made to collect depôts of stores or provisions; there were few draught cattle fit for service, and the army, scattered among the chief places of strength, Velore, Wandewash, Arcot, Trichinopoly, &c., was, to all intents and purposes, inefficient. It is true that Colonel Bailie, who succeeded Harpur in command of the Guntoor detachment, had been instructed to repass the Kistna, and to be ready, in case of emergency, to effect a diversion; but even this order was as yet very imperfectly obeyed. The most extraordinary fact of all, however, remains yet to be stated. Though the plans of Hyder were now fully developed, the government permitted another month to elapse without making any attempt to bring into the field even the wretched force at their disposal; indeed, the individuals who composed the government were too much occupied in cabals and disputes with one another, to pay the smallest regard to the condition of the presidency, or the interests of their employers. The consequence was, that Hyder had descended the Ghauts, overrun the open country, plundered and burned Porto Novo, Conjeveram, and other exposed towns, invested Arcot and Velore, besides reducing several lesser fortresses, ere so much as a place of rendezvous for the dis-

persed corps of the British army had been named, or an officer appointed to command them when assembled.

The force which Hyder now led against the Carnatic has been computed to exceed ninety thousand effective men, including twenty-eight thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand trained infantry, and M. Lally's corps of four hundred Europeans. This last-mentioned battalion, after passing from the service of Basalut-jing to that of the Nizam, had eventually accepted the pay of Hyder, and its chief was highly esteemed, and freely consulted, both as to the plan and conduct of the campaign. To oppose so formidable a host it was found practicable to draw together something short of six thousand infantry, about one hundred cavalry, in addition to the Nabob's irregular horse, and a train of artillery, contemptible in amount, and doubly so in consequence of its extreme deficiency both in cattle and equipment. There was nothing very encouraging in such a comparison of strength; but even to that the difficulties under which the English laboured were far from being limited. Though Sir Hector Monro drew up a plan for the campaign, and recommended an immediate advance upon Conjeveram, he expressed no inclination to assume the direction of the troops, or to throw away the influence which his presence in council gave to the party of which he was a member. Lord Macdonald, therefore, who had lately arrived from Europe in command of a Highland regiment, was requested to assume the command; but Lord Macdonald did not approve of General Monro's dispositions, and he therefore declined to stake his

professional reputation on the execution of plans, in the formation of which he had not been consulted. Under these circumstances, Monro, whose courage no one has ever pretended to question, put himself at the head of the troops, and having instructed Bailie to join him with as little delay as possible, marched on the 25th of August from St. Thomas's Mount.

In this, as in his previous war with the English, Hyder contrived to establish a system of intelligence, which rendered it impossible for his adversaries to conceal from him either their designs or their movements. He heard of the projected junction between Monro and Bailie's divisions while eagerly engaged in the siege of Arcot: he saw the necessity of preventing it, and took his measures accordingly. A corps of five thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, with six light and six heavy guns, was detached under his son Tippoo Saib, to intercept Bailie, while he himself, at the head of the main body, advanced upon Conjeveram, where Monro, with much difficulty, had arrived on the 29th. He found the English general reduced to the last stage of weakness, through the failure of the Nabob's agent to supply either cattle or provisions. The army had quitted St. Thomas's Mount with rice sufficient for the consumption of eight days only. Of this, all except one day's rations was consumed, and the troops were halted till some further stock should be collected from the impoverished country round.

In the meanwhile, Bailie, who had reached the village of Goomgapovridey, within twenty-eight miles of St. Thomas's Mount, so early as the

24th of August, instead of being required to join Monro at Connitoor, by forced marches, had been instructed to follow an independent route to Conjeveram. He obeyed the order, not without serious misgivings, and arrived on the 25th at the river Covtilaur, which was then low and fordable. Unfortunately he pitched his camp on the northern bank, though intending to cross early next day, a serious mistake under any circumstances, but particularly so at a season when the rains might be expected hourly to fall. They did fall that very night; nor was it till the 4th of September that his corps, which consisted of two hundred and seven Europeans, two thousand six hundred and six sepoys, and ten guns, was enabled to make good its passage. On the 6th, Bailie took post at Peraumbacum, distant about four miles from Conjeveram. He sustained a sharp action during the day, for Tippoo fell in with him on the march, and killed about one hundred men by cannonade. He reviewed his division here, and sent a messenger to inform Monro that he could advance no farther.

The messenger reached Monro not without some difficulty, and found him busily occupied in fortifying the pagoda, into which he had thrown his slender supplies. He was strongly urged by Lord Macdonald and others to leave his stores to their fate, and to march with his whole army to Peraumbacum; but to this he would not consent. On the contrary, he committed the serious error of dividing his force still further, by detaching one thousand of his best infantry to Bailie's assistance, while he himself rested idly in Conjeveram,

as if waiting the result. The measure proved fatal to Bailie's division, and severely hurtful to his own. The former corps, having received its reinforcement, moved upon Conjeveram at midnight of the 8th. At three o'clock in the morning of the 9th, it was attacked by the flower of Hyder's army, and after again sustaining a desperate contest during many hours, it suffered total annihilation. Out of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed, or died of their wounds, thirty-four were wounded and taken, and sixteen, though unhurt, became prisoners; while of the private soldiers almost all were either massacred after they surrendered, or cut down during the battle.

It is difficult to account on any principle, either of military or political science, for the conduct of Sir Hector Monro throughout this entire series of operations. In the first place, his wanton exposure of Bailie in the march to Conjeveram can be explained only upon the supposition, that he was determined to risk the very being of his army, rather than relinquish an opinion, however hastily formed. In the next place, his division of a force originally weak, by detaching to Bailie's support, instead of moving *en masse* as the state of affairs required, exhibits a shameful ignorance of the rudiments of an art which, more than any other, may be reduced to calculation. It is true that he had begun to form a depôt, of which he was unwilling to risk the capture, by leaving it under a slender guard in a place not yet strengthened against surprise; but his conduct in this respect deserves no commendation, for the site was chosen without skill, and the grossest negli-

gence had been exercised in covering it. Nor can the poor excuse be advanced, that he remained in ignorance of Hyder's intention to support his son in a renewed attack upon Bailie's corps. On the evening of the 8th, it was known to Monro that Hyder was in motion; nor could any doubt remain either as to the object of that movement, or the consequences which would probably ensue, were it to pass unheeded. Nevertheless, Monro rested quietly all night, and began his march in quest of Bailie, only when it was too late to afford him the smallest assistance.

He had proceeded some way towards Peraumbacum, under the direction of guides, who, being in Hyder's pay, led him by the most circuitous route, when a wounded sepoy, escaping from the general slaughter, brought intelligence of Bailie's defeat. The army was instantly countermarched, the stores, on the preservation of which so much had been thought to depend, were destroyed, and before dawn on the 12th, a retreat began. It was conducted with great precipitation and some confusion; but as Hyder did not venture to follow, except with a portion of his cavalry, little loss of life was sustained. The army arrived at Chingleput at a late hour on the night of the 11th. It was joined here by a force from Trichinopoly under Lieutenant-Colonel Crosby, which had managed to evade the Mysore detachment; and on the 15th, the whole fell back upon Marmalong, where the troops were placed in cantonments.

CHAPTER XII.

Sir Eyre Coote takes the command of the Army—Operations by sea and land—Battles of Porto Novo—of Pollelore and Sholingur—Capture of the Dutch Settlements—Distress of the English—Arrival of the French—Naval Actions—Sir Eyre Coote resigns the command.

While these operations were going on in the Carnatic, the Bengal government had not been regardless either of the errors committed by the authorities at Madras, or of the state of affairs in other parts of India. Besides early expressing their disapprobation of a line of policy which threatened to bring about a rupture with the Nizam, they had issued orders that the Guntoor Circar should be restored, and all arrears to the peshwah made good. On the 25th of September, 1780, information reached them of the destruction of Bailie's detachment, and of the alarming progress which Hyder's arms were making in all parts of the Carnatic. There was no longer any hesitation as to the steps necessary to be taken. Mr. Hastings saw that half measures would avail nothing; he therefore determined, with the approbation of his council, to exercise the full authority with which his employers had entrusted him.

His first proceeding was, to assemble an army of six thousand sepoys, and to secure for them a safe passage through Berar into the Carnatic. His next, to despatch Sir Eyre Coote by sea, with a body of three hundred and thirty European infantry, two hundred artillery, six thousand three hundred lascars, and about fifty gentlemen volunteers. That officer carried with him a liberal supply of money for the necessities of Madras; but he was the bearer also of an order, to which it was extremely doubtful whether prompt obedience would be paid. Mr. Whitehill, who had recently succeeded Governor Rumbold, was declared unfit for his situation, and suspended; a strong measure, doubtless, but not more strong than the circumstances of the times required. Nor was any difficulty experienced in carrying it into effect. Sir Eyre reached Madras on the 5th of November; on the 7th, he opened his dispatches, and the council, yielding at once to the wishes of the supreme government, deposed their chief, and entrusted to Coote the unshackled conduct of the war.

In the meanwhile, Hyder, after sweeping off the cattle, and making a desert of the country round Madras, had formed in person the siege of Arcot, while he detached, at the same time, various corps, under his son, Meer Saheb, and other leaders, to invest Wandewash, Velore, Amboor, Permacoil, and Chingleput. Arcot was not defended as its importance or the strength of its garrison required, for the pettah was carried by assault on the 31st of October, and the citadel surrendered on the 3d of November. In like man-

ner, Amboor, though commanded by an English officer, opened its gates on the 13th of January; but the remaining fortress held out with great obstinacy, despite both of violence from without and treachery within the walls. It was the grand object of Sir Eyre Coote to march as soon as possible to their relief; yet such was the poverty of the Carnatic, and such the total absence of preparation at the presidency, that the 17th of January arrived ere he could take the field. Then, however, with an army which amounted barely to seven thousand men—which could muster not more than eight hundred black cavalry—and was wretchedly supplied both with provisions and means of transport—he quitted the Mount, that he might open a campaign, upon the issue of which the fate of the British empire in India confessedly depended.

On the 18th, General Coote arrived within four miles of Chingleput, the siege of which was immediately raised. On the 19th, he crossed the Pallaur; and on the same night detached three battalions of sepoys, under the command of Capt. Davis, to attack the fort of Carrangoly, in which the enemy was understood to have laid up considerable stores of rice. In spite of a resistance more spirited than he had been led to expect, Captain Davis carried the place by a *coup de main*, but found that the amount of its resources was as much exaggerated as its defences had been underrated. Nevertheless, this first success on the opening of a new campaign was not without its effect upon the spirits of the troops. It inspired them with a confidence to which they had of late

been strangers, and animated them to endure, with increased patience, the hardships that awaited them.

It was past noon on the 24th, when the advanced guard came in sight of Wandewash, where, to the great delight both of the general and his followers, the English flag was still flying. Since the beginning of December Meer Saheb had pressed the siege with more than common vigour, yet his efforts had been foiled in every effort by the gallantry of Lieutenant Flint, and he now retreated with his whole force of twelve hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry, to a position distant about fifteen miles from Coote's encampment. He halted there, as if to watch the proceedings of the English, sending out frequent patroles to scour the open country; but he did not hazard even the demonstration of an attack. Coote, therefore, after throwing a slender supply into the place, pressed forward on the road to Permacoil, and relieved it, as he had already done Chingleput and Wandewash, from the presence of the enemy. But he had scarcely effected his purpose, ere the rumoured appearance of a French fleet upon the coast called his attention to other objects, and induced him to direct his march, first towards Madras, where a landing was apprehended, and afterwards, on the departure of the squadron in a southerly direction, upon Pondicherry.

The arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, and the intelligence which reached him of the preparations that were making in Bengal, inspired Hyder with a degree of alarm, such as he never experienced since the commencement of the war. On this account it

was that, instead of opposing the passage of the Pallaur, he withdrew even his posts from its banks, and directed his several detachments to concentrate without delay, that they might be at hand to cover Arcot, should an attempt be made to retake it. The boldness of Coote's advance, in defiance of his imperfect equipment, served by no means to decrease the respect which Hyder entertained for him. The siege of Velore was in consequence abandoned, and Coote had the satisfaction to learn, when on the road to Pondicherry, that the Mysorean army had concentrated, and that, in all probability, a general action could not be very distant.

In the beginning of February, the British army encamped on the red hills above Pondicherry. They found a French fleet of seven sail of the line and four frigates at anchor in the roads, and the inhabitants everywhere in arms, with the avowed intention of facilitating a disembarkation, and joining the troops after they should have come on shore. General Coote lost no time in suppressing this movement. He deprived the people of their weapons, destroyed the country boats, and caused the few cannon which remained in the place to be dismantled*. He had scarcely effected this service, when Hyder made his appearance, advancing in full march towards Cuddalore. Coote instantly ordered his tents to be struck, and the two armies moved during the night of the 6th along parallel

* The inhabitants of Pondicherry had been treated with great lenity ever since the capture of that place. Yet they embraced the very first opportunity of violating their faith, and turning round upon their humane conquerors.

roads, under a heavy, but harmless, cannonade. Next morning at dawn, the British line was formed with its left extending toward Fort St. David's, and its right nearly on Cuddalore, while the Mysoreans, cut off from the bound-hedge, which it was their probable intention to seize, lay upon their arms, without attempting anything.

The rapidity and judgment with which this march was conducted, unquestionably saved Cuddalore; but the distresses under which Coote himself laboured, and which had so cruelly impeded his operations from the first, were very far from receiving alleviation. The scanty stock of provisions which had been brought from Madras was now wholly consumed; Cuddalore contained supplies adequate to two days' consumption only; and the presence of the enemy's squadron cut off all communication by sea between the capital and the army. Under these circumstances, nothing short of a victory, so decisive as to clear the open country, seemed to hold out any prospect of relief, and Coote repeatedly drew out, in the hope that he might tempt Hyder to risk a battle. But Hyder was too cautious to fall into the snare. He declined the offered contest, and withdrew with his main army towards the south, leaving clouds of horse to watch the English, and to cut off their convoys. Happily for this gallant band, the French admiral, by what motive actuated has never perfectly appeared, weighed anchor on the 15th, and the water-communication, so long interrupted between the capital and the camp, was once more renewed.

From this date up to the middle of June, the

inadequacy of his means of transport, together with a disinclination to separate himself too far from the troops now daily expected from Bengal, kept Sir Eyre Coote, in a great degree, stationary at Cuddalore. Once, and only once, in the early part of May, he quitted his cantonments, with the intention of raising the siege of Theagur, but on reaching Trividi its fall was communicated to him, and he retraced his steps without delay. Meanwhile the Mysoreans had spread themselves into Tanjore, the whole of which, with the exception of the capital, they reduced. They next invested Wandewash, which was again bravely maintained by the same Lieutenant Flint who had so gallantly defended it before; and advanced with a large detachment towards Trichinopoly, for the safety of which serious apprehensions were entertained. Sir Eyre Coote, resolved, at every hazard, to preserve a place, the importance of which seems to have been at all times overrated, broke up his camp on the 16th of June, and arrived on the 18th at Chalambrum, a fortified pagoda, situated thirty miles south-west from Cuddalore. As soon as darkness set in, the general directed an assault to be made. The detachment employed on the service suffered a repulse, in which six officers, with one hundred and fifty men, perished; whilst an attempt to batter in breach, with a single eighteen-pounder, led only to the loss of the gun on the following morning. General Coote was disturbed at this failure, not through any mistaken estimate of the importance of the pagoda, but because he was aware of the bad effect which would be produced upon the minds of the troops,

by the abortive issue of any enterprise in which they fairly embarked. He determined, therefore, to renew the attack, as soon as his battering cannon should come up, for which he had already sent more than one urgent message to Cuddalore.

In the meanwhile the blockade was raised, and the columns proceeded to Porto Novo, where Admiral Hughes, with a reinforcement of men from Bombay, was expected shortly to arrive. The fleet of which he was in command had performed good service on the Malabar coast, by destroying in Cuttack and Mangalore the whole of Hyder's navy, and it was now at hand to second the exertions of the Carnatic army, by keeping open the communication by sea, and overawing the enemy's cruisers. It conveyed likewise the heavy cannon from Cuddalore, as well as a supply of rice and ammunition, and it reached its anchorage on the 24th, just two days after the troops had marked out their ground of encampment. No time was lost in preparing rafts for the more convenient transport of the guns to Chilambrum; but ere any of these were in a fit condition to be launched, the attention of all concerned was drawn to matters of infinitely greater importance. At early dawn on the 28th, the sound of the reveillé was heard in front of the camp, and the rising sun discovered the plain, for several miles in each direction, covered with the tents of the Mysorean army.

The truth is, that the repulse from Chilambrum, with the announcement that the assailing troops had withdrawn, inspired Hyder with a mistaken confidence, such as he had not till now ventured to encourage. Believing that the moment had

arrived when he should be able utterly to destroy the British army, he relinquished his intention of besieging Trichinopoly, and calling in his detachments, marched about seventy miles in two days, and encamped at Mootypolam, a league or something more from Porto Novo. Nor were his followers less confident than himself. They approached the outposts singly, and in groups; assured the British sentinels that their fate was inevitable, and called upon the sepoys to save their lives, by coming over to the service of Hyder. Nothing could have occurred more perfectly in accordance with the wishes both of Coote and his officers. They desired only a fair field on which to measure themselves with their enemy, and such a field being at length afforded, no delay was exercised in taking advantage of it.

Few battles have been undertaken under more serious disadvantages, yet few victories have been more complete than that of Porto Novo. The action began about eight o'clock in the morning of the 1st of July, by the advance of seven thousand British troops, in two lines, to the assault of a strong position, covered with numerous batteries, and defended by upwards of eighty thousand horse and foot. It ended at two in the afternoon, by the total discomfiture of the Mysoreans, who fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving upwards of three thousand dead upon the field. On the side of the English, not more than four hundred of all ranks suffered, a number unprecedentedly small, more especially when it is considered that among them were only two officers wounded. It were vain to offer any remarks upon such a contest:

as this. To General Coote the highest praise is due, for the courage which prompted him to accept the battle at all; while his troops are represented, by those who witnessed their conduct, to have behaved with the steadiness of experienced veterans; yet it would be absurd to deny, that nothing short of the grossest misconduct on the part of the enemy could have led to a result so decisive. It was the triumph of discipline over numbers, of a moveable body over an inert mass: for Sir Eyre Coote, by a judicious disposition of his lines, ventured to attack the Mysoreans in flank, whilst they, being incapable of a change of position, were routed in detail. Hyder was so astonished at the turn which affairs had taken, that he seemed to lose all courage and self-command. He recalled Tippoo from Wandewash, of which he had been left to carry on the siege with a corps of thirty thousand men, and, followed by the whole of his now dispirited army, withdrew to Arcot.

While Hyder was thus abandoning the fruits of his former successes, Sir Eyre Coote, after a halt of a few days at Cuddalore, marched to the northward, in order to meet the long-expected and wished-for reinforcement from Bengal. This force, which had encountered numerous impediments, and suffered much from sickness and desertion by the way, was now arrived in the Northern Circars; and in the beginning of August, the junction, so important in every point of view, was effected at Pulicat. The General was not tardy in turning to account the fresh spirits with which so great an addition to their strength inspired his

troops. He pushed upon Tripassore, laid siege to it, and compelled it to surrender. No event could have befallen more opportunely; for, independently of the great importance of the conquest, the advance of Hyder's army, which was in full march for its relief, appeared in sight at the very moment when the troops were taking possession of the works, and there remained but a single day's rice in the camp. Coote hastily recruited his stores from those of Tripassore; and finding that the Mysoreans were willing to hazard another action, proceeded, at an early hour on the 27th, to the attack.

There is an opinion prevalent, upon what authority grounded we are unable to say, that the battle of Pollalore was fought in consequence of a formal challenge sent in by Hyder, and accepted by General Coote. It is by no means impossible that a superstitious and semi-barbarous chief like Hyder may have taken some such step, encouraged as he was by finding himself on the same ground where he had gained his first and greatest victory over Bailie; but that Sir Eyre Coote should have acted upon a challenge seems to be in the highest degree improbable—unless, indeed, his extreme anxiety to fight induced him to do so on any terms. However this may be, it is certain that, on the 27th of August, the hostile armies once more met. That of Hyder occupied a position, covered in every point by water-courses and ravines; that of Coote pressed forward to dislodge the enemy, and, at a heavy loss, succeeded. But though Hyder retreated on the following day, and left the English masters of the field, no great

advantage could be taken of the victory. As usual, the conquerors were crippled for want of cattle, and destitute, or nearly so, of provisions: they could therefore pause only to bury their own dead, and the bodies of Bailie's unfortunate comrades; after which they fell leisurely back upon Madras.

From the 28th of August to the 27th of September, Coote was confined by his necessities to the Mount; while Velore, of which the siege had again been resumed, suffered the utmost distress from the want of provisions. It was gallantly defended by Colonel Long, an officer whom no danger could affright, nor any suffering overcome. Nevertheless, it was apparent to all, that, unless relieved within a given time, it must of necessity be taken. Velore, however, was a place of great importance, not more on account of its strength, than because it commanded one of the principal passes from Mysore into the Carnatic. It was resolved, therefore, to attempt some diversion in its favour, no matter at what hazard or expense. With this view, Coote once more took the field. He came up with Hyder's army at Sholingur, a strong pass on the Velore road, attacked it without a moment's hesitation, and again obtained a victory. Yet was he so far from being in a state to improve his success, that he had himself well nigh suffered annihilation. Famine, as it had done before, pressed severely upon him. His bullocks were few in number, and wretchedly out of condition; indeed it was only by great exertion, and the sending out of detachments, sometimes at imminent hazard, that he collected rice as it was

wanted from day to day. Under these circumstances, it was not till towards the end of October that he succeeded in throwing into Velore a supply of provisions for six weeks. By this time the monsoon had set in with the excessive violence which usually attends it. The rain fell in torrents, and the cold became so intense, that multitudes, both of men and women, perished. Nevertheless, Coote marched upon Chittore, of which he made himself master, and then hastened to relieve Paliput and Tripassore, to both of which the Mysoreans had laid siege. He arrived in time to save them, though at the expense of many cattle and horses, which were to him invaluable; after which he placed his troops in cantonments, between Tripassore and the Mount, and returned in person to Madras.

During the progress of this campaign, a series of events occurred elsewhere, which, though less interesting in themselves than those just described, were not without their weight in affecting the final issues of the war. It has been stated, that when Hyder led in person his grand army into the Carnatic, he detached a corps to the southward, which, with the exception of the capital, took possession of every fort and town within the principality of Tanjore. Around the city itself a belt of devastation was drawn, to the depth of twelve miles in all directions; but the continued efforts of the Mysoreans to reduce the town were baffled and withstood by the commandant, Colonel Braithwaite. Such was the state of affairs, when, on the 22nd of June, 1781, Lord Macartney arrived from England, in the capacity of governor of

Madras. He brought with him intelligence that war had broken out between Great Britain and Holland; and one of his first measures, after reaching the Presidency, was to propose that operations against the Dutch should be immediately begun. He found the Council well disposed to second him; though Sir Eyre Coote, the commander of the forces, upon some pretence or another, strongly opposed the measure. Nevertheless, all parties agreed in the propriety of strengthening Braithwaite, to whom reinforcements were forwarded accordingly, as opportunities occurred. The Colonel, animated by the arrival of fresh troops, began to act upon the offensive. He assaulted several strong places, from which, being himself severely wounded, he was repulsed with great loss. Yet his second in command, Colonel Nixon, proved more fortunate; nor did the tide turn when Braithwaite so far recovered as again to assume the guidance of his own corps. He attacked the Mysore army in a fortified position, of which the village of Mahadapatam was the key; and though his army was composed entirely of natives, and amounted, in fact, to scarcely one-half that of the enemy, he defeated them with great slaughter, and won, among other trophies, two pieces of cannon.

Meanwhile Lord Macartney, persevering in his designs against the Dutch, called out the militia of Madras, and putting himself at their head, reduced the settlements of Sadras and Pulicat. He had endeavoured some time previously to open a negotiation with Hyder; but being coldly met, he turned his undivided attention to the best means

of carrying on the war with vigour. There were now opposed to the English, independently of the sovereign of Mysore, all the great naval powers of Europe, against whom Lord Macartney justly conceived that it was a point of the utmost importance that every harbour in India should be closed. Once more, therefore, he urged upon Sir Eyre Coote the wisdom of fitting out an expedition for the reduction of Negapatnam, and the places dependent upon it; and finding that the general continued as averse to the proposal as ever, he resolved, on his own responsibility, to hazard the attempt. It chanced that Sir Hector Monro was at this time resident in Madras, whither he had retired, professedly in bad health, but more truly in consequence of some harsh expression used towards him by his superior officer during the battle of Pollalore. To him Lord Macartney committed the command of a force, which he made up as he best could, without withdrawing a single man from General Coote's army; and embarking the whole on board of Sir Edward Hughes' squadron, he sent them forward to try their fortune in Tanjore. Monro, after he had landed the marines, with a body of sailors to serve his guns, could muster less than five thousand men, inclusive of Braithwaite's corps under Nixon. Nevertheless, he carried on his approaches with so much spirit, that, in six days after the firing of his batteries, he compelled the garrison of Negapatnam to capitulate. Nor did he stop there. Sailing across to Ceylon, he laid siege to the fort of Trincomalee, which he carried by storm; thus effectually expelling the Dutch from every station within the limits of the Indian seas.

All this was satisfactory enough; yet the state of exhaustion in which the Carnatic lay, and the impoverished condition of the public treasury, hindered it from producing any visible effect upon the probable result of the contest. The Nabob, when called upon for funds with which to carry on the war, professed his absolute inability to supply them. His excuses were received with undisguised distrust; and it was proposed that he should make over to the English all authority over the revenues of the country, becoming, like the Nabob of Bengal, a pensioner upon their bounty. To the astonishment of Lord Macartney, his Highness made answer, that for such a contingency he was long ago prepared. He had already, it appeared, entered into a treaty with the Supreme Government, by which even this emergency was guarded against; and the subordinate authorities found themselves deprived of all power, except to act upon arrangements contracted elsewhere. It would have been contrary to human nature had such a stretch of authority failed to rouse something like indignation in the members of the subordinate government. Nevertheless, they did not permit the feeling to stand in the way of their turning the arrangement to the best possible account. They nominated collectors of their own to superintend the management of the Nabob's affairs; and making a deduction of one-sixth for the defrayment of his personal expenses, they transferred the remainder of the revenues of the Carnatic to their own treasury.

The negotiation with the Nabob was yet in progress, when other and scarcely less serious

difficulties arose out of the increasing dissatisfaction manifested by Sir Eyre Coote towards the new government. The expedition to Negapatam, undertaken, and successfully terminated, in opposition to his remonstrances, by no means tended to soothe a temper naturally irritable, and now rendered doubly so by old age and disease. He complained not of this alone, but likewise of the total absence of zeal manifested by the civil authorities in providing his troops with the ordinary means of equipment, and declared his intention of resigning the command, and returning to Bengal. It is extremely doubtful whether all the concessions of Lord Macartney (and his Lordship, to use his own language, "courted Sir Eyre like a mistress, and humoured him like a child") would have prevailed upon him to relinquish this idea, had not the brave old man been summoned, early in January, to the field. It was then that information came in of the fall of Chittore, and of the impossibility that Velore could hold out beyond the 11th; two pieces of intelligence which produced a much more powerful effect on the chivalrous feelings of Coote, than all the protestations and flattering addresses of the governor. On the 6th, he set out from his cantonments, and, though harassed and cannonaded throughout the whole of the 10th, he reached Velore on the 11th, with a supply of three months' provisions. He performed this march in his palanquin, having been seized with a fit of apoplexy on the 5th; yet he conducted it with his usual skill, and, on the 13th, set out on his return. Once more were the columns exposed to a galling fire of cannon,

as well as threatened with a more serious attack while crossing a swamp. But they made good their passage in excellent order, charged and dispersed the enemy, and, after manœuvring during some hours on the 16th without effect, returned to the lines at Tripassore.

The war was carried on all this while with extraordinary alacrity and varied success in Malabar, in Tànjore, and on the high seas. The force sent from Madras for the capture of Mahe, having been recalled for the defence of the Carnatic, was relieved by a detachment of Bombay sepoys, under Major Abingdon, which, unable to keep the field, shut themselves up in Tellichery, a factory rather than a fortress, covered by such intrenchments as Europeans were originally accustomed to construct by way of a defence against the attacks of native powers. Abingdon was assailed here by a corps of Hyder's best troops, under the command of one of his most distinguished officers. The Major defended himself with great spirit till reinforcements arrived; he then assumed the offensive, and put the assailants to the rout. After destroying their works, he marched upon Calicut, and, on the 12th of February, 1782, compelled it to surrender.

Important as this success was, as offering a point round which the discontented Nairs might assemble, it was more than counterbalanced by the destruction, almost at the same moment, of the Tanjore army, under Colonel Braithwaite. That officer, after re-establishing the authority of the Rajah, had encamped, in fancied security, on the banks of the Coleroon, where he was surprised

and surrounded by Tippoo and M. Lally, at the head of an overwhelming force. He endeavoured first to retreat to Tanjore; but finding every avenue blocked up, threw himself into a square, and refused to lay down his arms. The battle raged with the utmost fury from the 16th to the 18th of February. Repeated charges of the enemy's horse were repelled; nor was it till Lally's Europeans, four hundred in number, advanced with fixed bayonets upon them, that the sepoys began to waver. Then, indeed, all order was lost, and the Mysoreans, breaking in, cut them down without mercy, and in defiance of all the intreaties of Lally and his officers. Only a remnant of this gallant band, which consisted, when the action began, of one hundred Europeans and one thousand eight hundred natives, escaped the general massacre—to be shut up, with the other prisoners taken during the war, in the dungeons of Seringapatam.

It is somewhat remarkable that, in spite of these mutual victories, both Hyder and the English should have given way, at this moment, to more than their usual despondency. The former, taught by experience that not all the discipline which he had been able to infuse into them rendered his troops a match even for the British sepoys, found but slender consolation for the loss of many general actions, in the casual triumph of his son. He beheld, too, in the political horizon, the gathering of a storm, which must, sooner or later, burst upon his head. The French, on whom he mainly depended, were not yet

arrived; and it was exceedingly doubtful whether they would arrive at all. Of the Mahrattas, two of the principal chiefs, Moodajee Bhoonslah and Scindiah, were already detached from his interests, while the remaining branch of the confederacy, the Poonah nobles, were in treaty with Mr. Hastings, and the Nizam Ally had violated all his promises, by abstaining from taking any part in the contest. These were causes of just and serious apprehension; nor was it less alarming to know, that an impression had been made upon the weakest point in his dominions, the western provinces. "I have committed a great error," said he one day to his minister; "I have purchased a draught of leandu, (a cheap but intoxicating liquor,) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I shall pay dearly for my arrogance. Between me and the English there were, perhaps, mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but no sufficient cause for war; and I might have made them my friends, in spite of Mohamed Ally, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Bailies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be first weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting. I ought to have reflected, that no man of common sense will trust a Mahratta, and that they themselves do not expect to be trusted. I have been amused by idle expectations of a French force from Europe; but supposing it to arrive, and to be successful here, I must go alone against the Mahrattas, and incur the reproach of the French for distrusting them;

for I dare not admit them in force to Mysore *." Thus thinking, Hyder determined to abandon all his designs on the Carnatic, to withdraw entirely beyond the Ghauts, and look to the peace of his own kingdom; and he had actually proceeded so far as to undermine Arcot, when circumstances induced him to suspend the operation.

Of all these sources of uneasiness which pressed so heavily upon the mind of their enemy, the authorities at Madras were ignorant. They knew only that Braithwaite was destroyed, that a French army was assembling at the Mauritius, and might daily be expected on the coast; and that if they found it a hard matter to make head against the Mysoreans alone, their chances of success would be slender indeed, when Hyder should be thus strongly supported. To a certain extent, both parties reckoned justly, and both were equally in error; but the moment was rapidly approaching when doubts should be converted into certainty.

Towards the latter end of March, 1781, there sailed from Brest a squadron of five sail of the line and some frigates, under M. Suffrein, filled with troops, for the attack of the British settlements along the Coromandel coast. About the same period an expedition took its departure from St. Helen's, of which Commodore Johnstone had the guidance, and of which the object was, first, the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope; and ultimately the reinforcement of the king's troops in India. The British fleet put into Praya Bay,

* See Wilks's Historical Sketches.

in St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verde islands, where it was attacked, while unprepared, by the enterprising Suffrein, who had followed, and now hoped to surprise it. Suffrein was repulsed with considerable loss; yet the action proved so far injurious to the English, that it gave time to the governor of the Cape to prepare for them, and to set them at defiance when they arrived. Commodore Johnstone, therefore, after capturing a fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, returned to England with the frigates, and left the heavier ships to pursue their voyage. They were continually baffled by calms or adverse winds. On the 2d of September, the fleet stopped at Joanna, to refresh the sick, who had now become numerous; on the 24th, it again weighed anchor. From the 11th of October to the 5th of November not a breath of air blew; the calm again was succeeded by a change in the monsoon, which carried them to the coast of Arabia Felix; on the 26th of November, they came to anchor in Marabut Bay; and on the 6th of December, the convoy broke up. The principal vessels of war, having on board General Mathews, Colonel Fullerton, and the main body of the troops, departed in search of Sir Edward Hughes, while the remainder, with a part of two regiments, under the command of Colonel Humbertstone, steered for Bombay.

Humbertstone remained at Bombay something less than a week, when he re-embarked, with the intention of rounding Cape Comorin, and joining Sir Eyre Coote at Madras. In the course of the voyage, however, intelligence reached him which led to a total change of plan. He was in-

formed that the French were in command of the seas; that the Carnatic was overrun; that Tanjore was reduced, and two British armies destroyed; and, above all, that anarchy and intestine division reigned among the authorities, who were threatened and insulted even in Fort St. George itself. As it appeared to him that any attempt to reach the presidency must, under such circumstances, be attended with a degree of hazard which success itself would hardly justify, he directed the transports to put in at Calicut, and there he landed the troops. He came, however, not to seek repose, but to effect, if possible, a diversion in favour of the Carnatic. With this view he joined Major Abingdon's corps to his own, advanced into the interior, and gained several advantages over Hyder's generals. The approach of the monsoon, however, compelled him to relinquish his conquests; and on the 18th of May he again fell back upon Calicut.

In the meanwhile, M. Suffrein, after securing the Cape against surprise, had continued his voyage to the Mauritius, where his arrival augmented the French fleet to ten sail of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and several frigates. He carried with him the first division of an army destined, under M. Bussy, to retrieve the fortunes of his country in Asia; and he was urgent with Admiral d'Orves, his senior in rank, to enter, without loss of time, upon the campaign. The combined squadrons put to sea in December, 1781; they made the Coromandel coast early in January; and M. d'Orves dying soon after, Suffrein threw out a signal that they should steer direct for Madras;

On the 17th of February, the whole, attended by eighteen transports, entered Madras roads, under the expectation that Admiral Hughes lay at anchor there with his own fleet of four sail only; but Hughes had fortunately been joined the day before by three ships from England*, and was not, therefore, unprepared to meet them. A sharp action followed, which cost Suffrein six of his convoy. Nevertheless, the English being too much crippled to follow their success, the enemy returned unmolested to Porto Novo, whilst Hughes stood away for Trincomalee, the only port in those seas where he could conveniently refit.

Suffrein lost no time in disembarking the troops, which amounted, including a regiment of Caffres, to three thousand men. They were immediately joined by Tippoo, fresh from the destruction of Braithwaite and the siege of Cuddalore. This place, besides being feeble and extensive, was garrisoned only by a weak battalion of four hundred men; it was therefore incapable of any effective defence, and surrendered on the 3d of April. But Suffrein did not remain to witness its capture. He heard of the expected arrival of a fleet of Indiamen, and in the end of March put to sea to intercept them, a movement which again brought him in contact with Hughes, now refitted and reinforced, and on his passage with military stores for the support of the garrison of Trincomalee. Once more the squadrons engaged with great fury, but without any decisive result; for the English

* In these vessels were embarked General Meadows and his brigade.

reached their port of destination, and the French bore up for the harbour of Batticola.

It was now the 12th of May, and the army under Sir Eyre Coote, partly from the want of due supplies, partly through the dissensions which existed between the governor and commander-in-chief, was still in cantonments. Information that Cuddalore had fallen, and that the enemy were moving to the attack of Permacoil, at length roused it into action. Coote put his army hastily in motion, and advanced towards the threatened point; but a severe storm delayed him, and on the 16th intelligence came in, that the place had surrendered. He next bent his steps in the direction of Wandewash, whither the enemy were reported to have moved. Better success attended him here, for Hyder, made aware of the movement, fell back upon Killinoor, and Wandewash was, for the present, preserved. A variety of manœuvres followed, having for their object the capture and defence of Arnee, where Hyder's principal magazines were understood to be deposited. They led to a desultory action on the 2d of June, in which the English were entitled to boast of a victory; but the stores in question were withdrawn, and little loss was sustained on either side. On the 20th, General Coote returned to Madras, after a very fruitless as well as a very fatiguing campaign.

In conducting such operations as these, both by sea and land, the remainder of the summer was spent. The English, straitened on all hands, and destitute of that unanimity which can alone carry men through difficulties, found themselves not only unable to recover the places recently

taken, but in imminent danger of suffering still more serious reverses. It was to no purpose that the fleet sustained action after action with that of Suffrein; though invariably victorious, they never managed matters so as to reap the fruits of victory, which, on the contrary, passed, on almost every occasion, into the hands of the vanquished. Hence it was that Suffrein, though worsted in a severe battle fought on the 3d of July, was again at sea on the 1st of August, and had recovered Trincomalee before his conqueror, Admiral Hughes, was in a condition to interrupt the attempt. In like manner, Negapatam was saved from an attack with which it was threatened, only that it might be blown up soon afterwards by the English themselves, whose valour and seamanship were infinitely more conspicuous than their activity in repairing damages, or their vigilance in guarding against danger. Nor were the operations on shore marked either by greater energy or more favourable results. Velore was, indeed, re-victualled, so as to enable it to sustain a blockade for many months, and an attempt to retake Cuddalore was hazarded; but the admiral refusing, in consequence of the approach of the monsoon, to risk his fleet in an open roadstead, the latter project was abandoned. As a necessary consequence, these repeated failures, which he somewhat unjustly attributed to want of support from the civil authorities, preyed upon the irritable temper of Coote, who carried his resentment so far as to refuse holding any communication with Lord Macartney, even on the subject of an abortive negotiation for peace with which Hyder thought fit to amuse them.

In the month of October, this harassing and unprofitable campaign came to an end. It was then that Admiral Hughes, in defiance of the remonstrances and authority of the Madras government, withdrew to Bombay for shelter, while the French fleet betook itself to Achein. Sir Eyre Coote, likewise, whose health had long been declining, avowed his intention of returning to Bengal, and formally gave up the command in the Carnatic to General Stuart. With respect to the hostile armies, that of the English went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Madras; that of the French took post at Cuddalore; while Hyder selected for the same purpose an elevated piece of ground on the left bank of the Poni, about sixteen miles from Arcot. But though the winter months were thus undistinguished by any military operations, they were far from being felt by the Madras authorities as a season of repose. A hurricane, which came on soon after the departure of the fleet, caused dreadful havoc, both in the roads and on shore. Most of the store-vessels, which lay at anchor, loaded with rice, were stranded. Almost all their cargoes were lost, and famine, in its most hideous form, threatened but too surely to affect the settlement: for the surrounding country was a desert—the town was crowded with people—and the season of the year precluded all hope of procuring from Bengal such supplies as would be needed from day to day. The fears thus excited proved not to be groundless. Men, women, and children died by hundreds daily, and the air, poisoned by the effluvia of their putrefying bodies, engendered a loathsome pestilence. It has been

calculated that, while this state of things lasted, there were buried in trenches every week not fewer than fifteen hundred bodies; while the total loss by death throughout the Carnatic fell not short of five hundred and forty thousand.

CHAPTER XIV.

War with the Mahrattas—Treaty of Salbye—Operations in Malabar—Death of Hyder—Tippoo ascends the Throne—General Stuart's misconduct—Attack of Cuddalore—Peace with the French—Surrender of Mangalore—Peace with Tippoo—Reflections on the conduct of the Campaign.

It is necessary to revert now to certain transactions which kept pace, in other parts of India, with the progress of the war in the Carnatic.

We left General Goddard in quarters, after a successful campaign against the Mahrattas, in which he had defeated the armies of Scindiah and Holkar, and reduced the fortresses of Duboy and Ahmenabad. These events occurred early in the summer of 1780, and they were succeeded by many other complicated operations, of which it would be impossible, within the narrow limits of a work like this, to give any intelligible account, but of which it may with truth be stated, that the results were neither very brilliant nor very influential. The district of the Conkan was, indeed, reduced by a detached force under Colonel Hartley; from the side of Bengal, Agra, Scindiah's principality, was invaded; and the strong forts of Lahar and Gualior were carried by assault. But from the Conkan Hartley was soon afterwards compelled to withdraw, in spite of a protracted and gallant defence;

while the same indigence, which affected the military proceedings on the eastern coast, threw a baneful influence over those of the west. The only important acquisition made there was, indeed, the city of Bassein, which Goddard, by the tedious process of a regular siege, reduced without much suffering. The truth is, that the supreme government had become weary of a Mahratta war, and desired, at almost any sacrifice, to bring it to a close. They contented themselves, therefore, with issuing instructions that the contest should be restricted merely to defensive operations, at the same time that they used their utmost exertions to open a negotiation for peace; and the withdrawal of a large portion of the Madras contingent left Goddard but indifferently supplied with the means of conducting with spirit even a defensive war. Nor is it to be concealed that, in his choice of a position, from which to cover the territories entrusted to him, General Goddard was not happy. He took post at the Bhore Ghaut, a place difficult of access to his own supplies, yet the reverse of tenable against an enemy; from which he was eventually compelled to retreat with great loss both in men and baggage.

This untoward event would have tended much to thwart the views of Mr. Hastings, had not its influence been, in a great degree, neutralized by the success of Colonel Camac in Agra. That officer, who succeeded Captain Popham, the conqueror of Lahar and Gualior, found himself opposed by a force so superior to his own, that he was compelled to retreat from Leronge to Mahautpoor, harassed at every march by Scindiah, who

encamped regularly at the distance of six miles from his outposts. Having abstained from all active endeavours till he had thrown the Mahratta completely off his guard, Camac suddenly attacked his camp by night, and put him to the route, with dreadful slaughter and irretrievable confusion. The opening of a negotiation with Colonel Muir, Camac's successor in command, was the immediate consequence, and Scindiah was soon brought over, by the judicious management of Mr. Hastings, to act the part of a mediator with the other Mahratta powers. The Rajah of Berar likewise was easily bribed to hold back from joining the confederacy, and Nana Furnavese being in due time gained, all the obstacles to a general pacification were removed. Finally, a treaty was concluded at Salbye, on the 17th of May, 1782, by Mr. David Anderson, on the part of the East India Company, and by Mahadajee, on that of the peshwah and of the whole of the Mahratta nation; Mahadajee being at the same time plenipotentiary of the peshwah and guarantee for the due performance of the conditions. It stipulated for a mutual restoration of conquests effected since 1775; for the personal safety of Ragonaut Rao, who was to be allowed a monthly pension of twenty-five thousand rupees, with the choice of his own place of residence; for free trade; for the preservation of territory, and the exclusion of all Europeans, except the English and the Portuguese, from the Mahratta states; while a clause was inserted, by which the Mahrattas bound themselves to require of Hyder an abandonment of all the territories recently captured in

the Carnatic. Such is the substance of the treaty of Salbye, which received the signature of the governor-general on the 6th of June, but which was not formally ratified by Nana Furnavese till the 24th of December, 1784*.

Meanwhile, Col. Humbertstone, with the troops from Calicut, again took the field, and penetrated as far into the interior as Palgautchery, to which he prepared to lay siege. He advanced with greater boldness than discretion, drawn on, as it were, from post to post, by the facility with which the enemy's detachments submitted, till he found himself deserted by the nairs, on whom he depended both for supplies and guidance. Under these circumstances, he conceived that it would be vain to proceed any farther, and accordingly began to fall back. It was well that this resolution had been formed in time, for an enemy was in movement towards him whom no valour on his part could have enabled a force so inadequate to withstand.

We have alluded in another place to the fit of despondency which came upon Hyder, and led to a determination of evacuating Arcot, and concentrating behind the Ghauts. The arrival of the French fleet, and the landing of the French troops at Porto Novo, diverted the Sultan from this project, and induced him to detach Tippoo for the protection of the western provinces, while he himself remained in the Carnatic to support his

* Scindiah was rewarded for his good offices in conducting this negotiation, as well as for his humanity to his English prisoners, by a grant of the town and district of Baroach.

allies. Tippoo, whom Lally accompanied, conducted his expedition with consummate skill. His movement indicated rather an attempt upon Trichinopoly, than any design against Humberstone; nor was the latter made aware of the danger with which he was threatened, till he found himself furiously attacked during his retreat. He defended himself with singular obstinacy and address; he forded a river, the waters of which reached to the chins of his men; and arrived at Calicut on the 20th of November, worn down with fatigue, and considerably weakened both in numbers and means. Fortunately, Colonel Macleod, with a reinforcement from Bombay, had arrived during his absence, and the junction of the two corps enabled them to keep the field in a fortified position some miles in advance of the town.

On the night of the 29th, the English lines were assailed by four separate columns of attack; but the enemy were beaten off with the bayonet, the sepoys rivalling their European comrades in using it. On the 30th, Admiral Hughes, proceeding with his squadron from Madras, appeared in sight. He submitted the choice to Colonel Macleod, either to take his troops on board, or to reinforce him with four hundred and fifty Europeans; and Macleod preferring the latter arrangement, it was immediately completed. By this means the garrison of Calicut was increased to the amount of nine hundred Europeans and two thousand two hundred natives, a force still very inadequate to withstand Tippoo's army, of which as yet only the light division had come up. But on the 12th of December, all anxiety, if, indeed, such

was entertained, ceased. The advanced sentries reported that not a man of the Mysorean army was to be seen; and further inquiries brought proof that the whole were in full and rapid march to the east. Nor was this unexpected movement without a cause.

Hyder, the greatest and most formidable enemy to whom the English have ever been opposed in the East, died on the 7th of December, 1782, of a disease under which he had long laboured. The event was carefully concealed by the ministers, Poornea and Kishin, both of whom, though Brahmins, were true to their master's house, whilst expresses were sent off to Tippoo, for the purpose of recalling him ere the rumours, which soon began to circulate, should obtain credence. Tippoo felt that the present was not a moment in which any minor affair ought to be considered. He instantly broke up his camp, and hurried through Malabar, scarcely pausing to rest till he approached the grand army, which the ministers, with great judgment, had withdrawn from its lines near Arcot, in order to lessen the distance between themselves and the new sovereign. On the 2d of January, 1783, he reached head-quarters, at that time established between Velore and Arnee; and the same evening, without the slightest opposition or tumult, ascended the musnud.

Not all the vigilance of Poornea had succeeded in concealing from the Madras government the fact of his master's decease. A report to that effect reached Lord Macartney so early as the third day after its occurrence; and his Lordship, well aware of the weakness of an Indian army,

when deprived, even temporarily, of its head, was urgent with General Stuart to open the campaign by an immediate advance upon Arcot. But with the command of the troops Sir Eyre Coote seems to have bequeathed to his successor that jealousy of civil interference which gave so decided a turn to his own military administration; for the general professed to doubt the validity of the testimony on which the report rested, and refused to move. It was to no purpose that the governor insisted upon his paying obedience to the established authorities — General Stuart questioned the right of any Company's servant to dictate how it behoved the leader of the king's troops to act, and ended by declaring that, were he ever so well disposed to obey the wishes of Lord Macartney on the present occasion, the means of transport were wanting. Thus was one of the most promising opportunities of striking a great blow which had offered since the commencement of the war, permitted to pass unimproved, and the army remained inactive till Tippoo's authority was established.

It was not till the 15th of January that the British army quitted its cantonments for the purpose of re-victualling its intermediate depôt at Tripassore. On the 5th of February, however, the general took the field in earnest, and marching upon Wandewash, offered battle to the enemy, which they prudently declined. He then employed himself in demolishing the works both at Wandewash and Caringoly, neither of which were esteemed defensible, though the former had already sustained three sieges, and the latter one. His next object was to replenish the exhausted maga-

zines of Velore, a service which was performed with unlooked-for facility; and now he turned his attention to Cuddalore. To recover that place was esteemed, both by the civil and military authorities, a point of the utmost importance; and whatever General Stuart's errors may have been, he was not less anxious on this head than others; but it was deemed useless to hazard the attempt so long as the sea remained open, which it must be till the return of Sir Edward Hughes with the fleet. The army accordingly fell back upon Madras, where, till the end of April, it remained inactive.

Widely different was the conduct of Tippoo, whom alarming rumours from the west recalled as soon as the ceremony of succession had been gone through, to the scene of his recent operations. A respectable force under General Mathews had joined Colonel Macleod's corps at Rajahmundroog, on the Mirjee, and after storming the fort of Onore, had penetrated through the great pass called the Hussengherry Ghaut, and made themselves masters of the numerous redoubts by which it was defended. They advanced next upon Bednore, the capital of one of the most important of all the dependencies of Mysore. It opened its gates; and Mathews, after accepting the submission of many lesser places, sat down before Ananpore and Mangalore. They were both taken; the former by assault, after violating two flags of truce, the latter by capitulation. All this, it appeared, was accomplished by General Mathews in opposition to his own views of the campaign, and by peremptory directions from

Bombay; but the vigilance with which he guarded his conquests proved by no means equal to the resolution and hardihood with which he effected them. He committed the gross military error of scattering his force over a prodigious extent of country, and the scarcely less glaring political mistake of quarrelling with all the senior officers under his command. Thus were his troops exposed to be cut off in detail, while there was a total absence of everything like concord among the heads of departments. The consequences which actually ensued proved in no degree different from what might have been anticipated. While complaints were carried to Bombay, and orders of recall and supercession issued, Tippoo, advancing rapidly from the vicinity of Velore, fell upon the scattered divisions of the army, slew, dispersed, or took them, and sat down in form to besiege Bednore. The place being in ruins, and incapable of a lengthened defence, capitulated on the 30th of April; by which means General Mathews, with the bulk of his Europeans, became prisoners. Tippoo then pushed for Mangalore. He reconnoitred its defences on the 16th of May, drove in the piquets on the 20th, and on the 23d completed the investment.

In the meanwhile, the French force at Cuddalore received a very considerable increase by the long-expected arrival of M. Bussy, and the return of the fleet under Suffrein. The former, indeed, lost a large portion of his army, of which two divisions, with the ships that carried them, became the prize of English cruisers; but the corps which he disembarked fell not short of two

thousand men, all of them inured to danger, and full of confidence in their leader. It was well for the interests of England at such a juncture that Hyder no longer swayed the sceptre, and that even Tippoo, with his hosts of irregulars, was at a distance. Had it not been so, the struggle would have been, in all probability, waged, not in the vicinity of Cuddalore, but in front of Fort St. George itself. As it was, Bussy could only hasten to fortify a line of defence, so as to cover both the town and fort of which he was in possession. It has never yet been satisfactorily explained why General Stuart should have permitted these works to be carried on, without making the smallest effort to interrupt them; yet it is certain that the 3rd of June arrived ere he took up a position distant about five miles to the north-west of the enemy's outposts.

For several days the English army remained inactive; but on the 13th, Bussy's lines were attacked with great impetuosity, and not without some appearance of judgment. The attack miscarried, partly from the neglect of the commander-in-chief to avail himself of success at a point where success had not been anticipated; partly through the repulse of that particular column, on the triumph of which he had mainly counted. Nevertheless, the enemy, alarmed at the prospect of a second assault, fell back during the night within the walls. Next morning the attention of both parties was turned to the sea, which was now covered with the squadrons of Hughes and Suffrein; the one hurrying forward to assist in the blockade, the other seeking to relieve it. The former, which consisted

of eighteen sail of the line, was manned by less than half the numbers requisite to work the vessels in action; and of these diminished crews, a very large proportion laboured under the most distressing kind of scurvy. The latter could muster only sixteen sail, leaky, indeed, and inadequately found, but more than fully manned. The consequence was, that after a severe action, in which the English proved decidedly superior, they were compelled to bear up for Madras roads; whilst Suffrein, though defeated, gained his object by the opening of the sea to Cuddalore. He instantly threw his fleet into the anchorage which Hughes had abandoned, landed a strong body of seamen, and gave to Bussy as great a superiority in numbers as he had hitherto possessed in resources and position. Nevertheless, Bussy enjoyed no opportunity of turning his superiority to account. One vigorous sally was, indeed, made, at dawn on the 25th; it was vigorously repulsed by the guards of the trenches, sepoys as well as Europeans; and ere the preparations for another and more gigantic effort were complete, intelligence of peace between England and France came in. As a matter of course, hostilities immediately ceased; and Bussy, while he consented to invite Tippoo to a participation in the treaty, dispatched peremptory orders for the recall of the French detachment employed with the Mysorean army in the west.

All this while Tippoo was pressing the siege of Mangalore with the utmost vigour of which he was capable. Three regular attacks, suggested by M. Cossigny, the commandant of the French contingent which served under the sultan's orders,

embraced the front accessible by land; and the fire from the batteries soon reduced the walls to little better than a heap of ruins. But the skill of the governor, Colonel Campbell, ably seconded by the bravery of the garrison, rendered this of little avail. Every attempt to storm the breaches was repulsed, and more than one sortie carried dismay and confusion into the enemy's lines. Such was the state of affairs, the trenches having been open upwards of fifty days, when Bussy's orders of recall were communicated to Cossigny. They were promptly, and not unwillingly obeyed; and Tippoo became, in consequence, constrained to draw off from further attacks, and to trust to famine for a conquest, which he was unable to effect by the sword.

In the meantime, the Madras government had instructed Colonel Fullerton, the able successor of Braithwaite in Tanjore, to penetrate into Mysore from the south, with a view rather of diverting Tippoo from the blockade of Mangalore, than with the hope of effecting in that direction any permanent conquests. Fullerton lost no time in executing the task assigned to him. He advanced with extraordinary rapidity, yet without rashness. By the middle of May, the forts of Coroor, Aravazcouly, and Dindegul, were reduced; before the end of the same month, magazines were established, and depôts stored, in a country which he found every where exhausted. He was again in full march ere June set in; and on the 2nd, Daropoora was breached and taken. There the progress of this indefatigable officer was stayed by command of General Stuart, who informed him of

the cessation of hostilities at Cuddalore, and expressing his own conviction that a peace with Tippoo must immediately follow, desired that further aggressive measures might be suspended. Though Fullerton felt little satisfied with the propriety of the measure, or the justice of the reasoning on which it was founded, he could not refuse to follow instructions so explicitly given; he therefore halted, and employed himself during several weeks in restoring order and obedience in the provinces of Madura and Tinevelly.

So early as the month of February, Lord Macartney had engaged a Brahmin, proceeding on his devotions to Conjeveram, to discover, through some of his friends in the Mysorean service, how far Tippoo was, or was not, inclined to enter into negotiations for peace with the English. Tippoo refused all advances of the kind, on the pretext that he could not, in honour, desert his French allies; nor was an attempt to renew the proposition made, till after the treaty of peace concluded in Europe became known at Cuddalore. It was then that his lordship addressed a letter to Tippoo, bearing date the 2d of July, in which he informed him that all obstacles arising out of his connexion with the French were removed, and once more invited him to become a party to the treaty of Salbye. Tippoo received this communication soon after M. Cossigny had withdrawn from his encampment, but paid to it, for some time, no regard whatever. On the contrary, though he agreed to suspend, on the 2nd of August, all active hostilities against Mangalore, Onore, and the other English posts in Malabar, he took care that these

should not receive any supply of such articles as were most essential to the health of the garrisons; and he answered Lord Macartney's communication at last, only because he hoped, by means of a little further delay, to starve the forts in question into submission. It was in consequence of this mischievous armistice that Colonel Fullerton's victorious career was stayed. Early in October, however, Tippoo threw off the mask, by resuming in earnest the siege of Mangalore; and on the 18th of the same month, Fullerton, without waiting for instructions from Madras, recommenced his operations.

Fullerton had not added to his own strength by the delay to which he was forced to submit; yet his proceedings were all marked with the same decision and skill which previously characterised them. The strong fortress of Palacutchery was invested on the 4th of November; on the 13th, two batteries were opened, and the same night the garrison surrendered. In like manner Coimbetore, without waiting till a breach should be effected, opened its gates on the 26th; and Seringapatam itself, in which many discontented spirits were known to be at large, lay in some degree at his mercy. It was when matters had reached this important crisis, that Fullerton received, to his extreme mortification, instructions to proceed no further. Another armistice had, it appeared, been concluded; British commissioners were actually in the sultan's camp, for the purpose of negotiating a permanent peace; and the principal dread was, lest the exploits of the southern army might throw impediments in the way of so desirable a consummation. Fullerton was

deeply chagrined. Nevertheless, he once more suspended his conquests, in obedience to the will of his superiors, though he positively refused to fall back, as they required, within the limits of the Tanjore dominions. It was exceedingly fortunate that he possessed moral courage sufficient to disregard the charge even of partial disobedience; for on the 2d of January, 1784, further orders came in, which required him to push the war to the utmost extremity.

The truth is, that Tippoo, though far from blind to his own danger in the event of a continuance of hostilities single-handed against the English, was not willing to bring them to a close, except with the performance of some exploit calculated to impress the native powers around with an exaggerated notion of his prowess. Though he knew, for example, that, as a mere matter of grace, the forts of Mangalore, Onore, &c., would be restored to him, yet he was desirous of recovering them by force of arms rather than by treaty; because he hoped by this means to convince both the Mahrattas and the French that, even in the attack of fortified places, his army was irresistible. This, with the vain, but, in his case, not unnatural anxiety of exhibiting the English in the light of suppliants, induced him to evade and procrastinate in the manner just described; a line of conduct to which the Madras authorities showed themselves either shamefully inattentive or strangely and imprudently indifferent. On the 9th of November, two gentlemen set out from Fort St. George, with powers to adjust all differences at Seringapatam. They were not permitted so much as to visit that

capital, but were led, after a fashion as little respectful as can well be imagined, to the sultan's camp in front of Mangalore. There the grossest indignities were heaped upon them. Tippoo refused to communicate with them, except through one of his ministers, upbraided them with Fullerton's breach of faith;—caused gibbets to be erected at the doors of their tents, and relaxed not for one moment in his endeavours to reduce the fort. But the fort was held by men who preferred death, in its worst form, to the disgrace of submission, except on honourable terms. Though tantalized repeatedly with the hope of relief, which never reached them, neither Campbell nor his gallant band would hear of unconditional surrender; nor did they capitulate at last, till one-half of the Europeans, and nearly two-thirds of the sepoys, had perished of famine and disease. On the 26th of January, Campbell signed articles of convention, which permitted him and his brave band to retire with arms, baggage, and equipments, to Tellichery.

With the fall of Mangalore, this important and expensive war may be said to have come to a close. Tippoo, having effected two of his objects, the reduction of a fort and the humiliation of the English, condescended to meet the commissioners; and, on the 11th of March, 1784, signed a treaty of peace, on the grounds of a mutual restitution of conquests. The deed was immediately transmitted to Calcutta, where, in the absence of the governor-general, who was then at Lucknow, it was acknowledged and ratified by the Supreme Council. Long after all this had occurred, after it had been

returned to Tippoo, and its terms carried partly into effect, there arrived a second deed, signed and ratified by Mr. Hastings himself, into which were introduced several stipulations, totally novel and unexpected. This Lord Macartney was commanded, "at his peril," to forward to Seringapatam; but his lordship declined to take part in a proceeding, in his opinion, quite unprecedented, and the matter fell to the ground.

It is impossible to look back with any degree of attention, upon the conduct and results of this eventful war, without receiving a lively impression, not only of the total inadequacy of the system of government as yet established in British India, but of the deplorable incompetency of almost all the leading characters whose fortune it was to take a part in the great drama. In this sweeping censure, however, it is very far from our intention to include Mr. Hastings, the governor-general. To his charge, on the contrary, we are not prepared to lay any accusation more heavy, than that of paying less attention than he might have done to the feelings of those associated with him, and acting too much, in cases where he was scarcely required to do so, upon his own undivided responsibility. We cannot, for example, applaud the policy of some of his dealings with the subordinate government at Madras, which left the relative powers of the civil and military authorities so vague and undefined. No doubt some decisive measure was requisite after the melancholy display of imbecility which the campaign of 1780 had afforded. Nor can the promptitude with which Sir Eyre Coote was despatched to the scene of danger be spoken of in

terms even of qualified approbation. But the remarkable ambiguity which pervaded the general instructions issued on that occasion, the commission which seemed to invest the commander of the forces with the entire management of the war, yet left him dependent upon the civil government for the means of conducting it,—that was a mistake not less unworthy of Hastings than detrimental in its results to the interests of the Company. Its consequences were, an excess of jealousy and distrust on both sides, which led to dissensions always the most violent when their recurrence threatened to produce the most mischievous effects.

Again, the anxiety of Hastings to detach the Nizam from the general confederacy led him to propose a cession, which, had it been agreed to by the Madras authorities, might have been productive of many and serious evils. He consented to give up the sovereignty of the Northern Circars, on the ground that they were mere stripes of sea-coast, quite incapable of defraying the expense of their own government. This was a palpable error, because, in the state of affairs as they then existed, a stripe of sea-coast was, of all other possessions, the most useful to the English; and the actual revenues of the province in question amounted to 612,000 pagodas per annum. Nor must he be acquitted of all blame in condescending to treat with Mohamed Ally, without communicating to the government of Fort St. George the terms of that treaty. It was, to say the best of it, an exceedingly indelicate stretch of authority, which could produce no good, and might have brought

about much evil. Yet, in spite of these blots upon his public conduct, (and they were, after all, of a very venial nature,) Mr. Hastings stands alone, as the preserver of British India under circumstances more trying than it has been the lot of any other governor-general to encounter. When all the most important of the native powers were in alliance against him, when he foresaw that they would shortly be joined by the French, and suspected that the Dutch likewise were on the eve of following the example, neither his courage nor his constancy forsook him. However anxious he might be, he took care, in dealing with his enemies, to evince the most absolute self-confidence; and while he seemed careless about conciliating any, he contrived to detach them all, one by one, from each other.

When we look again to those who played a secondary part in this great game, we shall find that there were few, indeed, whose conduct was not marked by some glaring error, either of temper or judgment, or both. Of Sir Hector Munro it may truly be said, that he was equally unfit to plan as to execute a campaign; while his coadjutors in office, Governors Pigot and Rumbold, were men whom nature never designed to fill other than an obscure station in society. Sir Eyre Coote, on the other hand, was both able and active; but disease and old age were not without a baneful effect in sharpening a natural irritability which was too apt at all times to impede, if it could not control, the exercise of his faculties. He assumed the command, it is true, under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty. He found an ex-

hausted treasury; a government divided against itself; an army disheartened by defeat; and a country universally devastated. As yet there was no regular system of intelligence established. The means of transport were wanting; and of provisions there were neither depôts formed abroad, nor any store laid up even in the capital itself. It must be confessed that few men could have contemplated such prospects otherwise than with dismay. Nevertheless, General Coote, at the head of an army of infantry, took the field against an enemy whose horse made a desert of the whole scene of intended operations; and scarcely, throughout a protracted and arduous struggle, committed one error, of which the consequences were either long or severely felt. Had his conduct in the cabinet been marked by the same propriety which distinguished his proceedings in the field, Coote would have deserved a place among the greatest commanders whom India has produced; but the case was not so. Jealous of his own dignity, distrustful of those about him, and not always clear-sighted in views which he himself took, Coote not only effected nothing towards allaying the ferments which prevailed previous to his arrival, but increased them to a very hurtful degree. His frequently-repeated threats of resignation were sometimes as childish as the pretexts in which they originated were without solid foundation.

Concerning the individual on whom the command devolved after Coote's resignation actually took place, only one opinion can, we presume, be formed. With all the querulousness, and more than the pride of Coote, he possessed little of the

chivalrous gallantry, and was totally destitute of the military glory which undeniably characterized the high-minded veteran. He succeeded to power at a moment when, for the first time since the commencement of the war, an opportunity of striking a great and decisive blow presented itself. He permitted the lucky moment to pass unimproved, and it never afterwards returned. In one respect, however, he seems to have made Coote his model: he was constantly at variance with the civil authorities, constantly advancing pretensions to a separate power, which, however it might appear to have been especially conferred upon his predecessor, was not continued to him. Hence his refusal to act against the Mysorean army, which the death of Hyder had in some degree disorganized; and hence, too, not a little of the procrastination and indecision which hampered his movements during the remainder of the campaign.

It is not necessary to devote much space to a review of the public conduct of the officers employed apart from the principal field of operations. General Mathews, destitute alike of energy and discretion, accidentally gained advantages, of which he knew not how to make use, and lost in the end both his army and his life, through the grossest negligence, and a display of very questionable principles. Colonels Campbell and Travenion, the one in Mangalore, the other at Velore, proved themselves brave and honourable soldiers; but it was by Fullerton and Hartley, and by them alone, that anything approaching to genius or talent was exhibited. There are few campaigns on record more brilliant while they lasted, or

which have been carried on in the face of more serious obstacles, than that of Fullerton in Coimbatoor; while the defence of Conkan by Hartley was in the highest degree creditable both to his courage and his skill.

We cannot quit this part of our subject without directing the reader's attention to the very striking fate which attended almost all the chief actors in the drama just described. Coote, returning from Bengal with enlarged powers, and a force superior to any which he had previously commanded, was smitten with an apoplectic stroke, and died two days after landing. General Stuart, being recalled with disgrace from the lines at Cuddalore, was placed in arrest, and dismissed the Company's service. Mathews died by assassination in one of Hyder's dungeons. Lord Macartney was deprived of his government; and of the persecutions of which, during many years, Mr. Hastings was the victim the recollection has not yet passed away.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.




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